

REPORT
 BY ONE OF THE
 COMMISSIONERS OF INQUIRY,
 1886,
 RESPECTING THE
 ORIGIN AND CIRCUMSTANCES
 OF THE
 RIOTS IN BELFAST,
 IN
JUNE, JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1886,
 AND THE
 ACTION TAKEN THEREON BY THE AUTHORITIES:
 ALSO IN REGARD TO
 THE MAGISTERIAL AND POLICE JURISDICTION,
 ARRANGEMENTS, AND ESTABLISHMENT, FOR
 THE BOROUGH OF BELFAST.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



LONDON:
 PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
 BY AIRD AND COGHILL

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
 KYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C., and
 32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or
 ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, NORTH BRIDGE, EDINBURGH; or
 HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1887.

[C. 5029.] Price 1s. 1d.

ERRATA TO THE MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

(And which have been noted in drawing up Report.)

BELFAST RIOTS COMMISSION, 1886.

Page.	PARAGRAPH. Number.	Number of Lines.	ERRATA.	SHOULD READ.
11	127	10	bowing, ...	bowing.
18	334	6	Homan's, ...	M'Kenna's.
33	854	8	the county Constabulary, ...	the Constabulary.
51	1314	8	Mr. Newell, ...	Mr. Newland.
79	2231	3	M'Carthy, ...	M'Leod.
80	2254	2	M'Carthy, ...	M'Leod.
80	2261	2	M'Carthy, ...	M'Leod.
80	2264	4	M'Carthy, ...	M'Leod.
80	2265	2	Town Inspector, ...	District Inspector.
80	2276	3	who, ...	you.
83	2368	3	Murray, ...	Murray.
87	2389	3	500, ...	50.
97	2882	2	Park-street, ...	Barracks.
99	2937	8	South, ...	West.
99	2937	12	South, ...	West.
100	2958	41	string, ...	wiring.
101	2961	24	Great Howard-street, ...	North Howard-street.
101	2974	21	ten minutes past eight, ...	ten minutes to eight.
108	3281	2	it was on that night, ...	it was not on that night.
114	3413	3	there was no riot, ...	there was no riot.
132	4048	4	July, ...	August.
144	4440	2	8th, ...	9th.
144	4439	1	King-street, ...	Agnes-street.
144	4442	1	King-street, ...	Agnes-street.
145	4477	3	I have known, ...	I have never known.
186	4936	19	Queen-street, ...	Queen-street.
186	4936	23	Queen-street, ...	Queen-street.
175	5370	13	12th August, ...	12th July.
179	5642	10	are not engaged, ...	are engaged.
186	5890	25	9th June, ...	10th June.
186	5894	1	9th June, ...	10th June.
213	6584	2	Mr. Lawder, ...	Mr. Lawther.
214	6329	58	Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Thynne, ...	{ Note.—The witness has inadvertently named the wrong magistrates. See paragraph 2219.
218	6830	2	Mr. Hamilton, ...	200.
228	6807	3	200, ...	200.
228	{ 6845 }		Double Numbers, ...	{ 6845
229	{ 6845 }			{ 6845 (b).
229	{ 6845 }		Double Numbers, ...	{ 6845
229	{ 6845 }			{ 6845 (b).
241	7002	1	Paragraph numbers 7002 to 7102 on page 241 to 245, ...	{ These paragraphs should all be marked with letter (b) to distinguish them from the hundred paragraphs immediately preceding which bear the same numbers.
280	7883	3	Seavon, ...	Seaver.
280	7884	11	the night the people were shot, ...	the night after the people were shot.
283	7903	6	M'Quinn, ...	M'Quinn.
283	7903	11	M'Quinn's, ...	M'Quinn's.
289	8058	21	Boundary-street, ...	Beauford-street.
331	9159	7	North Boundary-street, ...	North Howard-street.
336	9219	3	on the 10th, ...	on the 10th.
337	9229	4	no second opinion, ...	no second opinion.
348	9439	8	June, ...	August (see paragraph 9887).
383	9730	6	in compliance with that report, ...	in compliance with that request.
384	9738	1	7th June, ...	9th June.
386	9797	40	we sent, ...	I went with
386	9797	49	required, ...	inquired.
388	9845	10	6th, ...	7th.
388	9845	43	Thursday, ...	Tuesday.
370	9854	14	Oranville-road, ...	Shankill-road.
373	{ 9854 }		Double Numbers, ...	{ 9854
373	{ 9854 }			{ 9854 (b).
379	10006	2	Agnes-street, ...	Agnes-street.
401	10825	2	14th, ...	4th.
410	11138	105	7th June, ...	7th August.
441	12139	18	About 6.15 p.m. I was, ...	About 6.15 p.m. on the 6th August I was.
473	13036	2	14th July, ...	14th August.
483	13487	5	Head Constable M'Farland, ...	Head Constable Wilson.
499	14118	18	Steth-street, ...	Stewart-street.
499	14139	3	13th July, ...	31st July.
508	14451	68	10th September, ...	10th June.
521	14609	2	Mr. Newell, ...	Mr. Newland.
542	15025	1	thirteen rounds, ...	three rounds.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—BELFAST RIOTS.

REPORT.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

On the 25th of August, 1886, their Excellencies the Lord Justices issued their warrant to four of our number, whereby, after reciting that certain riots and disturbances had, in the months of June, July, and August, taken place in the town of Belfast, they authorised and directed a Court of Inquiry to be held at Belfast aforesaid, "to inquire into the origin and circumstances of the said riots and disturbances, and the cause of their continuance, the existing local arrangements for the preservation of the peace of the town of Belfast, the magisterial jurisdiction exercised within it, and the amount and constitution and efficiency of the Police Force usually available there, and the proceedings and action taken by the Magistrates, stipendiary and local, and other authorities, and the Police Force, on the occasion of the said riots and disturbances, and whether these authorities and the existing Police Force are adequate to the future maintenance of order and tranquility within the town, and whether any and what steps ought to be taken, and whether any and what changes ought to be made in the local, magisterial, and police jurisdiction arrangements and establishment, with a view to the better preservation of the public peace and the prevention or prompt suppression of riot and disorder."

On the 25th September, 1886, your Excellency issued a further warrant appointing as a Member of the said Commission, and also to be President thereof, Sir John Charles Day, one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in England; and after reciting that certain riots and disturbances had occurred in the town of Belfast since the 25th August, 1886, your Excellency authorised and empowered us to "inquire into all matters and things connected with the said last mentioned riots and disturbances in as full and ample a manner as we are authorised and directed" to inquire into all matters and things connected with the riots and disturbances mentioned in the Commission of the 25th August, 1886.

The Belfast Commission Act, 1886, being an Act for facilitating the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to hold a Court of Inquiry respecting riots and disturbances at Belfast, having received the Royal assent, we, in obedience to these warrants, and thus armed with special powers by the legislature, opened the Court of Inquiry at Belfast, in the Court-house of the County Antrim, at the hour of 12 o'clock on Monday, the 4th October, 1886.

Happily, though the lamentable events associated with the riots were fresh in the minds of all, Belfast was at this time in a state of complete tranquility, and not only did the clergy, the corporation, and persons in official positions naturally afford to the Commission most prompt and courteous attention, but every one, from the Mayor himself to the factory operative and unskilled labourer, evinced a praiseworthy desire to aid in eliciting the truth.

The warrants having been read in open court by the Secretary, the President at once explained the general scope of the intended investigation, and earnestly invited all loyal citizens to come forward and aid the Commission in the inquiry.

Having entered on the examination of witnesses, we continued the same uninterruptedly (except on the intervening Sunday) until Monday, the 25th October, 1886, on which day the taking of evidence was concluded. During the twenty-two days we had heard statements from or examined 199 witnesses, including 10 clergymen of different religious professions, the Mayor, 81 county, borough, military, and paid magistrates, the General commanding and 6 officers of the Belfast district, the Inspector General, the Town Inspector and 53 other officers and men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, with the Town Clerk and 94 persons from various classes and sections of the community.

We trust that we have thus obtained sufficient information to guide us to true and just conclusions on the various matters committed to our investigation, and

In order to classify and arrange these we purpose to divide this Report into nine branches:—

- I. Introductory as to the town of Belfast.
- II. The magisterial jurisdiction exercised within Belfast.
- III. The amount and constitution of the police force usually available there.
- IV. The earlier circumstances of the riots and their origin.
- V. The circumstances of the riots as they continued, and the cause of their continuance.
- VI. The efficiency of the police force usually available at Belfast, and the existing local arrangements for the preservation of the peace in that town.
- VII. The proceedings and action taken by the Magistrates, Stipendiary and Local, and other authorities, and the police force, on the occasion of the riots and disturbances (so far as not reported under IV. and V.).
- VIII. Whether the aforementioned authorities, and the existing police force, are adequate to the future maintenance of order and tranquility within the town.
- IX. Whether any and what steps ought to be taken, and whether any and what changes ought to be made in the local, magisterial, and police jurisdiction arrangements and establishment, with a view to the better preservation of the public peace, and the prevention or prompt suppression of riot and disorder.

I.

INTRODUCTORY AS TO THE TOWN OF BELFAST.

1. Early in the inquiry we visited those localities in which rioting had been more frequent, and also inspected the Bowershill and the Divis-street police barracks, and thus by personal observation we were able to obtain a clearer understanding of the bearing of the evidence, and a more accurate knowledge of the injury sustained by property in certain cases; also, two of our number from time to time inspected the various police barracks and examined the arrangements connected therewith.

2. Belfast is known as the chief manufacturing and commercial town of Ireland, the capital of Ulster, and the county town of Antrim, in which (with the exception of the large suburb of Ballymacarrett on the east side of the River Lagan) it is mainly comprised. As a parliamentary borough it returns a member for each of the four divisions known as North, South, East, and West Belfast. The borough boundaries include 6805 acres, and this acreage may be thus classified:—Built area, 3750; rural area, 2015; reclaimed sloe land, 340; tide-way, 700. The town is admirably laid out, and its modern, well ordered appearance presents in nearly all quarters an exterior aspect of healthy development, whilst its spacious main thoroughfares and wide lateral streets, together with the commodious housing of the mass of the population, are features specially favourable not only to the well doing of its people, but also to the carrying out of effective police supervision for the preservation of the peace and the protection of property.

3. For municipal purposes Belfast is divided into five wards, Cromac, Dock, St Anne's, St. George's, and Smithfield, each being represented by 2 aldermen and 6 councillors, who together (a mayor, 9 aldermen, and 30 councillors) constitute the Town Council, which is intrusted with the general management of the town, exclusive however of justice and police, and of the separate limited jurisdictions reserved respectively to the Harbour Board and to the Water Commissioners.

4. It is convenient that we should mention that the recent progress of the Home Rule question, and the later introduction by the then government of a Home Rule Bill into Parliament, had for several months (preceding the period of these disturbances) occasioned very strong and bitter political feelings in Belfast.

5. Early in our inquiry we found the witnesses frequently referring to the religious professions or creeds as being a safe index, not only to the political opinions held, but also to the localities inhabited by the different sections of the people. In politics it would appear that as a body the Roman Catholics of Belfast are recognised, in current phraseology, as Nationalists, or Home Rulers, whereas the bulk of the

Appendix
C II.
Belfast,
1446.
Carr, 744.

Black,
7384.
7476.
7481.

Rev. J. Todd,
1446.
7476.
7481.
Carr, 744.

Carr, 71.
257.

Rev. J.
Todd,
1446.
14545.

people of all Protestant denominations are, in like manner, more or less correctly known as Conservatives, Orangemen, or anti-Home Rulers. We have no doubt that this nomenclature is inaccurate in both instances, but we are satisfied that it is sufficiently near the truth for the purposes of our inquiry, as it was clearly shown that these were the distinctions which, without exception, were recognised during the disturbances by the rioters and evil disposed sections of the community. The religious and political parties being one and the same, and the names Catholic and Home Ruler being synonymous, the apparent divisions and rivalries, caused by the action of economic laws and political forces, may very easily become identical with or indistinguishable from the effects produced by the baneful influence of sectarian rancour and religious animosity. We may state that while, on the one hand, we are disposed to view all sectarian or religious rancour as a poisonous parasite, the corrupt outgrowth of ignorance and misgovernment, which under certain conditions proves the sure forerunner of crime; yet, on the other hand, we consider political fervour and zeal as healthy plants sprung from liberal education and free institutions, which, under proper care and training, nourish and sustain the freedom of our people. Therefore, having regard to the circumstances existing in Belfast previous to 1829, and to the great changes that have been worked in the last 57 years, we are strongly impressed with the necessity for exercising care, lest in our search for the origin of these disturbances and the cause of their continuance, we may be led to follow after the will-o'-the-wisp or spectre of religious animosity, and thus lose trace of the true source of all these troubles, and incur the danger of aggravating the difficulties of the future by suggesting remedies applicable to a state of things which has ceased to exist.

6. The census returns of 1881 record the population of Belfast thus (Supplement C 1):—

All Males,	94,844;	All Females,	113,278;	Total of all Persons,	208,122.
R.C. Males,	26,908;	R.C. Females,	34,067;	Total of R.C. Persons,	59,975.
R.C. percentage of all Males,	27.95;	Of all Females,	30.07.	Of all Persons,	28.62.

The census of 1881 also shows clearly the relative position occupied by the Roman Catholics in the daily life and work of the town of Belfast, and we have studied somewhat closely the information therein afforded as to the distribution of the population in respect to their sexes, religions, occupations, and education. These reliable statistics appear to negative the idea of any intolerance making itself felt on the part of the large Protestant majority, and show that the Roman Catholic population takes the full share in all the occupations of the people, to which their number and their education entitle them. There appears to be an exceptionally high percentage of illiterates in this section of the population (Supplement C 3), and this probably indicates unskilled labour and low wages, which would account for it being noticeable that the houses in the Roman Catholic quarters of the town are generally of a poorer class. This again, when considered in connection with their smaller percentage of males and the bourgeois qualification (£10 householder), may explain how it is that this political minority, being almost equally distributed in each of the five wards (Supplement C 2), does not at the present time return a single representative to the Town Council.

7. It is clear to us that the industrial classes of the Roman Catholic population group themselves together in certain quarters of the town, and this may naturally arise, *inter alia*, from their children attending the same schools, and from a desire to meet the convenience of their few clergy. Whilst this may be a proof of mutual sympathy, it certainly should not be misconstrued into a sign of enmity betwixt them and others, more especially as we find that the Roman Catholic trading classes, such as butchers and spirit dealers, which businesses so greatly depend upon the goodwill of their customers, are generally distributed throughout the town, and in fact a very large proportion of both trades is in the hands of Roman Catholics (Supplement C 1).

II.

THE MAGISTERIAL JURISDICTION EXERCISED WITHIN BELFAST.

8. The magisterial jurisdiction exercised within Belfast is as follows:—The Recorder (who shall, at the time of his appointment by the Lord Lieutenant, have been a practising barrister at law of not less than six years standing) sits as the sole judge and exercises full jurisdiction in the Recorder's Court, which is held in the Municipal Buildings six times in the year, and therein criminal cases are disposed of by jury trial. At the General Quarter Sessions, held in the County Court-house, the Recorder, as County Court Judge, has concurrent jurisdiction with every Justice for the County of Antrim, and criminal cases are disposed of by jury trial. The Recorder for the

McGehee,
13944.
Hale,
10358.
Bell,
14258.
Berry,
13717.
Rev. J.
Tobin,
14450.

Act 16,
Geo IV.,
Cap. 7.

Bell,
1954.
3180.
Black,
7474.
Rosa,
8213.
Townsend,
1777—1730.
Bell,
1826.

time being is *ex officio* a justice of the peace of and for the borough, and he has precedence next after the Mayor in all places within the borough.

9. There are 85 gentlemen assigned by Her Majesty to keep the peace within the borough, and to these Her Majesty has granted a commission to act as justices of the peace of and for the borough of Belfast; these may act at times singly, dually, or plurally. The Mayor for the time being is *ex officio* a justice of the peace of and for the borough, and he has precedence in all places within the borough.

10. Two gentlemen (known as resident magistrates) have been appointed by warrant, under the hand and seal of the Lord Lieutenant, to be magistrates for the County of Antrim during his pleasure. These are stationed at Belfast, and they possess and exercise jurisdiction as justices of the peace for the town of Belfast. We find it enacted by section 32, Act 6, Will. IV., cap. 13, that the grounds of the appointment of each resident magistrate shall be specifically stated in the warrant of appointment by the Lord Lieutenant. The grounds so stated for the existing appointment appear to be:—"Whereas, for several years past a resident magistrate has been stationed at Belfast, in the County of Antrim, and great advantage has resulted from the assistance afforded by such resident magistrates in the preservation of the public peace and the administration of justice in the said County of Antrim, and it is necessary that such assistance should be continued," etc. The salary paid to each of these resident magistrates is included in the constabulary vote, and is defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund. There is no legal qualification required of the gentlemen thus appointed, and their jurisdiction and authority within the borough of Belfast appears to be co-ordinate with that of any ordinary unpaid justice, except in regard to proceedings taken under a few statutes, which in certain cases make the powers of one stipendiary magistrate co-ordinate with that of two justices, and a list of these statutes we append in Supplement A 1.

11. There are two adjoining court-rooms used for borough petty sessional purposes, one being known as the custody court, which, as its name denotes, is used for the disposal of persons who have been apprehended; the other, called the summons court, for the disposal of persons who are proceeded against by summons only. Both resident magistrates, with certain of the borough justices of the peace, hold petty sessions daily, and the business in the two courts is conducted concurrently. The attendance of the borough justices of the peace is provided for by a roster naming a number of justices for each day of the week, some of whom may be counted upon to attend, but this attendance is variable.

12. The term of imprisonment that may be summarily inflicted by these justices and magistrates in petty sessions is in most cases limited to 60 days; but their powers in this respect are varied by numerous statutes, and in some cases are greatly extended—for instance, under the Prevention of Crimes Act, 34 and 35 Vict., cap. 112, in certain cases they may summarily impose a sentence of 12 months' imprisonment.

13. Under instructions of the Lord Lieutenant, 9 counties and the borough of Belfast have been formed into a division (known as the Ulster Constabulary Division) for the special purpose of focussing, under the supervision of one divisional magistrate, all constabulary duties therein connected with the prevention and detection of serious crime. This divisional magistrate occupies a dual position, being also assistant inspector general of constabulary, and he acts in both capacities under the direction of the inspector general. Belfast is made the headquarters of this division; but under ordinary circumstances the divisional magistrate, although a justice of the peace for the borough, takes no share in the work of the borough magistracy. (See par. 18).

III.

THE AMOUNT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE POLICE FORCE USUALLY AVAILABLE THERE.

14. For all constabulary purposes the borough or town of Belfast is policed by the Royal Irish Constabulary, which force was established under what may be described as the Constabulary Consolidation (Ireland) Act of 1836. Various Acts have been subsequently passed dealing with finance, distribution, and title, but the constitution of the force as established in 1836 has been practically unaltered by the legislature.

15. The appointment, dismissal, distribution of, and the entire control over the constabulary force is vested in the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland.

16. The general direction and superintendence of the whole force is entrusted to an inspector general, assisted by the deputy inspector general; these officers are *ex officio* justices of the peace throughout Ireland.

Callen,
1088.

Townsend,
1852.
Black,
7481—7501

Lewter,
711—719.
Hall,
818—824.
Frasco,
877—879.
McClintock,
8885.

Inspr. Gen.,
Head,
7045—7067

Act 4,
Will IV.,
Cap. 13.

17. The general direction and superintendence of such separate local divisions (or groups of counties and towns) as the Lord Lieutenant may direct, is entrusted in like terms to one or other of the assistant inspectors general, and these officers are *ex officio* justices of the peace throughout Ireland.

18. We next find one county inspector appointed (apparently as chief officer therein) for each of the separate county forces to act in *aid of the assistant inspectors general, and under and subject to their direction and control*. The separate county and town forces each consist of a certain number of district inspectors, head constables, sergeants, acting sergeants, and constables, having one of the said county inspectors as their local chief officer. The town inspector of Belfast ranks as a county inspector of Gen. 454.

19. Since the year 1846, the expenses incurred on account of a specified number of constabulary forming the county and town police forces, and the depot reserve (about 400), when undetached, have been wholly defrayed out of the constabulary vote, and the Lord Lieutenant may, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, triennially redistribute these, assigning to each county or town such number as he deems requisite, which number is known as the *free quota*.

20. Additional police in excess of the free quota are appointed thus:—The Lord Lieutenant may, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, declare a district of certain named extent in any part of Ireland to be in a state of disturbance, and he may appoint for any such district a limited number of additional constabulary, and maintain them there until it ceases to be in a disturbed state; When the free quota assigned to a county or town area is deemed inadequate to the due execution of the law, the Lord Lieutenant may in such case, on receiving the prescribed certificate of the county magistracy, or a memorial from the town council, appoint for such county or borough the number of additional constabulary so requisitioned; The inspector general may, subject to the direction and control of the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors, from time to time, as may be deemed expedient, order and direct the whole or any number of the constabulary from any district or from the depot reserve to proceed to any other place or places throughout Ireland, and to remain there or remove elsewhere as they may in like manner be directed.

21. Provision is made that in all cases in which additional police, in excess of the free quota, are appointed as aforesaid to any county or town, one moiety of the *full cost* incurred thereby shall be chargeable upon such county or borough respectively. In calculating the full cost (a moiety of which is so charged), the following expenditure, or an average thereof, is taken into account:—Pay, clothing, medical attendance, barrack accommodation, fuel, local travelling expenses, and extra pay of such constables and other constables when absent from quarters.

22. Until the 1st September, 1865, the Town Council of the municipal borough of Belfast had been entrusted with the maintenance, sole control, and supervision of its town police force, but under the provisions of the Constabulary (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1865, the Town Council were from that date relieved of the power and obligation to render this service to and for the State, and the *Municipal Borough of Belfast* was by the said Act constituted a distinct district called the *Town of Belfast*, and all the provisions of the Acts relating to the Royal Irish Constabulary were made applicable to the said town.

23. The number of constabulary assigned to the town of Belfast as its *free quota* is 318, and the number granted thereto as additional is 270; these 588 sergeants and constables, together with 4 district inspectors and 11 head constables under the local charge of a town inspector, constitute the Belfast town police force (Supplement B 3). Cact. 764-
29, 30.
Gen. 3367.

24. Of this number there are 18 (a head constable with 17 sergeants and constables) who form a cavalry or mounted police section; also 12 are detailed as a distinct detective staff; the remainder are distributed to four town districts known as North, South, East, and West, and to each district force is assigned 1 district inspector and its due number of head constables. The single men are accommodated in, and the married men are attached to, 22 separate police buildings, known as barracks. On the 4th June we find, of the authorised force, 42 short of complement, 22 sick, 14 absent on leave, and 3 at the depot in Dublin—making in all 81 ineffective—thus practically reducing the nominal strength from 603 to 522 (Supplement B 3). Cact.
682-692.
676-682.
23.
20.
707-717.
36-48.

25. Belfast is also the headquarters of the Ulster Division, and the Assistant Inspector General, who acts as the Divisional Magistrate, has his official staff (3 district inspectors, 1 head constable, and 2 sergeants) located in the town, but their duties are general for the nine counties, and they are not included in the available town force (Supplement B 3). Gen. 3367.

IV.

THE EARLIER CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE RIOTS AND THEIR ORIGIN.

26. *Thursday, 3rd June.*—In the north-east of the town of Belfast, and on the eastern side of the River Lagan (vide map), there is being constructed by Messrs. McCrea and McFarland a new graving dock, known as the "Alexandra," and on the 3rd June, 1886, there were at this work about 100 or 150 labourers, a number of them being Protestants but the majority Roman Catholics. All had hitherto worked together in perfect harmony; and, according to a witness, George Smith, they continue to do so. Near to, and outside this graving dock, several of the harbour-men were employed, these being both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Some few hundred yards from the entrance to the Alexandra Dock there is the well-known Queen's Island Shipbuilding Yard, of the firm Harland, Wolff, & Co. The employees at this yard numbered about 3000, of whom only about 200 were Roman Catholics, the remainder being Protestants, and a large proportion of the latter are generally believed to belong to or actively support the Orange institution.

27. A man named Robert Blakeley, a Protestant, started work at the Alexandra Dock on Monday, 31st May, and having completed some job, his then "gaffer," John Reid, sent him on Thursday, 3rd June, to work under his former "gaffer," George Smith, a Protestant. It appears that during this day, whilst Blakeley was at work making a drain, with a squad of men consisting of three brothers, Roman Catholics, named Murphy, and several others, the father of these Murphys joined the squad, and he at once picked a quarrel with the man Blakeley, used violent language, and struck him twice on the thigh with a shovel, but did him no injury; one of the sons also attacked Blakeley, and the father made use of these words, which subsequently became notable, namely, that "neither he (Blakeley) nor any of his sort should get leave to work there or earn a loaf there or any other place."

28. Blakeley complained to the "gaffer," George Smith, who told him that if he could not agree, the best thing he could do was to leave. Blakeley then left the works, and being questioned by some of the harbour-men as he came out, he told them why he was leaving. He at once went to the police barracks near hand, at Ballymacarrett, and told the police what had happened, but he states that the constables "were more jibing him than anything else," until he met Sergeant Morton, who told him to come down next day at eleven o'clock. This he did, and then Sergeant Morton and Constable Nesbitt accompanied him to the Alexandra Dock to obtain the name and address of the elder Murphy, but the timekeeper told them that both father and sons had left the works. George Smith, the gaffer under whom the Murphys worked, was unable to tell us whether they had actually left the works at the time—possibly they did not leave till later on in the day. This man, Robert Blakeley, gave very fair and candid evidence, but, when asked if he was an Orangeman, he made no answer, and on the President explaining that there was no harm in the question, he replied, "I don't think I should answer that."

29. *Friday, 4th June.*—In the then highly excited state of political feeling, this "Blakeley and Murphy" incident was certain to be discussed by the other Protestants working at the Alexandra Dock, and also by the harbour-men to whom Blakeley had mentioned it, and as the phrase made use of by Murphy passed from mouth to mouth, it probably gathered that sinister interpretation which it so readily admits of; whether this was so or not, it is certain that the ship carpenters, riveters, or others—anti-Home Rulers employed at the Queen's Island yard—heard of it, and some of these appear to have wickedly resolved that for the supposed outrage upon one of their political party, they would have their full measure of revenge on the Home Rulers engaged at the Alexandra Dock.

30. Between 11 and 12 o'clock on Friday, 4th June, a rumour reached the dock labourers that the Island men would attack them during the dinner hour. At this time the Island men usually leave their yard by the gate convenient to the Alexandra Dock, and at 1.15 P.M., an organised body of 100 or more of the Queen's Island men were seen entering the Dock armed with sticks and other weapons and shouting for "Home Rulers;" these rioters were also accompanied by several hundreds of onlookers and sympathisers. This hostile force struck terror and dismay into the dock labourers, many of whom are said to have been old men and others quite young lads. The R.C. Home Rulers fled, making no resistance; a number of them sought to escape by taking to the River Lagan and swimming, others by pushing out on a raft and on pieces of timber. Whilst these

struggling for their lives, their cowardly assailants are said to have stoned them in the water and to have beaten or maltreated any they could lay hands on—one young lad named Curran being drowned notwithstanding the efforts of two men to save him,—and it was currently reported that seven or nine men were so severely injured as to require hospital treatment.

31. Telegrams reporting that this serious riot was going on reached the Town Inspector at 2 o'clock; he instantly wired to each district head-quarter Constabulary Barrack, ordering all available police to be sent to the Queen's Island, and in his magisterial capacity he sent a requisition to the officer commanding the troops asking for two companies of soldiers to be held in readiness. In a brief space of time a large force of constabulary reached the Alexandra Dock, but they found that the rioters had left and had resumed work in the Queen's Island Yard. Inquiries were set on foot, and a search, which was ultimately successful, was made to recover the body of the young lad Curran.

32. The force of constabulary assembled during the afternoon is estimated at 200 foot-police. Great fears were entertained that this dastardly outrage on the R.C. Home Rulers would lead to further disturbance in the evening, especially during the homeward journey of the Queen's Island employees. It is necessary to explain that the Queen's Island artisans and skilled workmen mostly live in the N.W. central district of the town, occupying modern and superior dwelling houses on the Shankill-road, Old Lodge-road, Crumlin-road, or localities convenient thereto. They cease work daily at 6 P.M., except on Saturday, when they leave off at 1 o'clock; and their route homewards, after crossing the river by the Queen's Bridge, is through North-street and Petershill, a central district thickly populated by Roman Catholics. On this evening the Town Inspector, Mr. Carr, adopted special measures in these localities to prevent any collision between the R.C. Home Rulers and the Queen's Island men returning home. And it was well that he did so, for there was a very hostile demonstration at Petershill against the Island men as they passed, and irritating cries were used to them by the R.C. Home Rule population, but it is proved that on this occasion the body of Queen's Island men appeared to be conscious of their disgrace, and bore an ashamed and downcast look, and were extremely quiet; in fact their demeanour, together with the police precautions, preserved the peace during the evening, and for the rest of the night the town was quiet.

11 persons were arrested for rioting on this date.

33. *Saturday, 5th June.*—On the following day, Saturday, 5th June, an Inquest was held on the body of the young lad Curran, and the resident magistrates, Colonel Forbes and Mr. McCarthy, held an inquiry into the incidents of the two previous days. The Queen's Island employees left their yard, proceeding homewards at 1 o'clock, and special police precautions were taken, very similar to those adopted on the preceding evening, to guard against any collision. The hostile feeling on the part of both the Home Rulers and the Queen's Island men appeared to have become greatly intensified since the previous day, and it was with much difficulty that a conflict was avoided. During the evening and early part of the night it became evident that the feeling had grown more and more bitter, and in two or three places some slight rioting did take place, but the police were always able to get between the parties and put a stop to it.

34. This increased bitterness was noticed on the part of both the anti-Home Rulers and also the Home Rulers, and may be readily accounted for, as the circumstances of the half-holiday and evening of Saturday all tended in that direction. We may feel assured that the hundreds of Queen's Island men who had been present in the attack on the R.C. Home Rule labourers would be likely to exaggerate the sinister character of the "Blakeley and Murphy" incident, in order to extenuate their own murderous and dastardly conduct, and the large bulk of the Protestant artisan community would undoubtedly lend a ready ear to this version, harmonizing as it did with their political prejudices at the time. On the other hand, each one of the Alexandra Dock R.C. Home Rulers must have told to his sympathetic and enraged hearers the heart-stirring tale of savagery and manslaughter witnessed during his dinner hour on Friday, while the effect of these sad recitals was heightened by the taking home of the deceased lad Curran, and the holding of an Inquest on his body. Moreover, the events of the following day, to be presently related, indicate, if they do not prove, that a decision had by this time been come to by the Home Rule party, or by some considerable section of it, which was eminently calculated to prove fatal to the peace of the town—namely, a determination to make the funeral of the murdered lad, which was to take place on the following day (Sunday), the occasion for a great R.C. Home Rule demonstration throughout the town of Belfast.

Reid, 1884.
Carr, 65—66.
Reid, 1822—18
Carr, 61, 62.

Townsend,
1303.

Carr, 164.
69
70—73.

Carr, 163,
165.
73.
160—164

Townsend,
1303.

Constabulary
Accounts.

Bell, 1818.
Forbes,
402B.
Carr,
165—168.
79—81.

35. *Sunday, 6th June*.—The forenoon passed peaceably, and we believe that the feeling among the majority of every class of the Protestant or anti-Home Rule population on the Sabbath day was one of regret for the untimely death of young Curran. The Rev. Dr. Kane, a very prominent clergyman, made touching allusion to it from the pulpit, and referred in sympathetic language to the bereaved mother.

36. The funeral was fixed to start from Mrs. Curran's house in Front-street, Ballymacarrett, on the east side of the river, at 3 p.m., and after crossing the Lagan by the Queen's Bridge, to pass through the centre of the town by Mill-street, Divis-street, and Falls-road, past the Broadway to the Borough Cemetery, situated to the south-west of the town. The whole available strength of the town police force, including a body of seventeen mounted constabulary, was utilised for the preservation of order, and this force was disposed of in detachments of various strength at those critical points in the line of march where it was deemed their services would be most effective. The seventeen mounted constabulary were held in readiness near to the Model School on the Falls-road; the Town Inspector, Mr. Carr, in company with the Resident Magistrate, Colonel Forbes, giving special attention to this point. It appears to have been arranged that after the funeral had crossed the river, if everything in Ballymacarrett were then quiet, District-Inspector Bull should move a large portion of the Ballymacarrett force, which was 100 strong, on foot to the Bank Buildings, a central place, where they were intended to be available as a reserve.

37. The funeral and police arrangements already described were carried out. The procession is said to have been very large, practically amounting to a demonstration. It consisted of a body of people leading on foot, then the hearse, and the coffin carried shoulder high; after this came some six mourning coaches and a great concourse of persons, the total number in the procession being variously estimated at "3000," "5000 to 7000," and "several thousand" persons. There was no band, neither were there any flags, banners, or political emblems. This procession attracted much notice, and was witnessed by crowds of people, who lined the footpaths, side-streets, and other positions. It passed through the town without any disturbance until it came to an open space off the Falls-road, near to the Model School, which is known as the Brickfields. Here a very large gathering of Protestant anti-Home Rulers was assembled to view the cortege. It may have been reasonably believed (judging from the locality) that a great number of these were Queen's Island men from the Shankhill district; in any case, whatever the cause, the whole aspect was instantly changed, for shortly after the coffin had passed, some Roman Catholic or Home Ruler who was following discharged into the air a firearm from out of the centre of the procession, apparently as a taunt or defiance to the crowd, and some of the funeral party threw stones and made a rush to get at the people on the Brickfields, who simultaneously made an effort to close with their antagonists, and much "booming and shouting" occurred; but the constabulary, under the personal command of the Town Inspector, Mr. Carr, acted with vigour, and, getting between the two parties, prevented any collision; some stones were thrown, but no damage was done.

38. The funeral party proceeded onwards, and on reaching the Broadway, which is a locality between Grosvenor-street and the Cemetery, the Home Rulers, who were surrounding the coffin, with one accord threw a volley of stones at a number of people in Braemar-street, and within two minutes after this the rear of the Home Rule crowd, without the least provocation, attacked the police in Thames-street, and some 100 of their number who left the procession are proved to have wantonly chased several people; they then broke the windows of a factory, and otherwise misconducted themselves. The Rev. Dr. Greene, a very generally esteemed R.C. clergyman, came to the assistance of the few police who were at this point, and he succeeded in keeping back the rioters. The Town Inspector, on getting word of the disturbance at the Broadway, instantly proceeded there with seventeen mounted constables and others. He was accompanied by the resident magistrate, Colonel Forbes, and on their arrival the disturbance then going on at the Broadway factory was put a stop to.

39. On the return of the procession from the Cemetery a somewhat serious collision took place as they passed Broadway. No conclusive evidence was received as to which party initiated this disturbance; but as the mounted constabulary and other police came on the scene, their attention was in the first instance directed to the anti-Home Rule or Protestant party. The mounted police charged them down the street, and as they took to the fields and continued throwing stones some 35 baton-men pursued and dispersed them.

40. Shortly after this the Home Rulers, or funeral party, made a desperate attack on a house into which they declared that one of their number had been carried wounded, and it is believed that during the return journey a man—said to be a Roman

Catholic—had been stabbed, but was only slightly injured. An angry crowd of several hundred Home Rulers endeavoured to force their way past and began stoning the police. The mounted police and the baton-men then charged these people and cleared the streets for 200 or 300 yards, dispersing the crowd across the fields without injury to any one.

41. The funeral party, still proceeding homewards, after reaching Grosvenor-street made a further unprovoked attack on some people standing at a little distance down that street, and they continued rioting and stone throwing for about twenty minutes, when a body of mounted police arrived and charged them up a side street into Leeson-street. The locality was kept in a disturbed state for some time afterwards, and the police were occupied there for nearly two hours. After this, and when the funeral party had dispersed to their homes, the excitement calmed down and the town was fairly quiet; there were occasional slight disturbances, one instance of which was the attack on Sergeant O'Brien and Constable Cummins by a band of 300 or 400 roughs near Lettuce-hill, but nothing else of a serious character occurred during that evening.

Walker,
10574-77.
Carr, 216.
593.

Cummins,
11144.

42. Be it observed that throughout this day the evidence shows that no aggressive action was taken by the anti-Home Rule party, unless indeed during the return of the funeral procession they may have re-commenced the rioting which was originated by the R.C. Home Rulers on the way out. (Par. 39.)

43. In examining into the police arrangements on the occasion of the funeral, it is now evident that the strength of the police force was comparatively weak near to and west of Grosvenor-street, and, viewed in the light of subsequent experience, we are of opinion that it would have been better if three or four large pair-horse conveyances or police brakes had been provided at Ballymacarrett to drive the bulk of that force rapidly to the west side of the town to strengthen the Grosvenor-street and Broadway detachments. The course of events suggests that we should point out, that had this Ballymacarrett force been driven rapidly across the river in the direct line by May-street, Howard-street, and Grosvenor-street, parallel to the funeral route, it could, with the assistance of mounted orderlies, have been kept in continuous touch with the funeral procession throughout the route, and still have been available in ample time to allow of the men taking up any position assigned to them along the line of march from Grosvenor-street westward past the Broadway Factory. It will be evident that on a disturbance arising in the front or centre of the procession anywhere west of Castle-street, it was impracticable for the reserve at the Bank Buildings to push its way through the rear of the procession in time to render any efficient service.

1 person was arrested for rioting on this date, and 6 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

Constab.
Hibernia.

44. Monday, 7th June.—During the forenoon of the following day, being apprehensive of further disturbances (deeming it necessary to guard against any second attack during the dinner hour on the Alexandra Dock labourers), the Town Inspector, Mr. Carr, and the Resident Magistrate, Colonel Forbes, took 100 constabulary to the Queen's Island, and they also requisitioned and obtained the assistance of 100 troops for duty there; this large force remained on duty until the workmen left at 6 o'clock, but nothing whatever occurred.

Forbes, 4228.
Townsend, 1265.
Cullen, 855.
Gen. J. Moore,
1897.
Hall, 1913.

45. In the course of the day the divisional magistrate, Assistant Inspector-General Cullen, consulted with Town Inspector Carr and Colonel Forbes, R.M., and subsequently with Mr. McCarthy, R.M., the result being that these four gentlemen expressed a unanimous opinion that a large additional force of constabulary should be sent for. On this, Mr. Cullen, having first ascertained that the Mayor was absent from Belfast, telegraphed to the Inspector-General of Constabulary in Dublin asking for 400 additional police to be drafted into the town. We observe that Mr. Cullen asked at the same time for the assistance of two extra resident magistrates for temporary duty.

Cullen, 855.

46. A telegram was despatched to the Mayor, Sir Edward Harland, who returned to Belfast the same evening. We here quote Sir Edward Harland's evidence when speaking of this 7th June: "I arranged that evening a meeting of magistrates, resident magistrates, and some of the chief officers of the police, and we met that night in the Town Hall. We then conferred as to the position of affairs, and as to the means of acting under the circumstances. It was told me that in my absence a requisition had been sent forward for extra police, and when I heard the circumstances in which the authorities were placed, I quite agreed with what had been done. After that, any further requisition for police was submitted to me for approval."

Sir E. Harland, 7547.
Bell, 8048.

McKinnoy,
14129.

47. During this Monday afternoon an attack was made by a mob of 200 or 300

M'Kinney, 14179-164 persons upon the works of Mr. M'Kinney, a brick and oven manufacturer, off Grosvenor-street. This gentleman is a Roman Catholic, and had in his employ a large number of Home Rulers. He states that the mob came on to his property and threw stones in the most violent manner at his workmen, who were forced to take shelter at the kilns, and it would appear that, owing to some misunderstanding, the police force sent for his protection went instead to a Mr. M'Kenna's. The care-taker at the brickwork having discharged a fire-arm during the disturbance to deter the mob, was taken into custody by the police, and he has since been returned for trial to the assizes. The mob ultimately broke the gate, bricks, covers, glass, and destroyed the kilns, Mr. M'Kinney himself looking on, and unable to prevent their doing all this damage.

Carr, 107-109, 132, 231. 48. As indicating the serious apprehensions entertained by the Town Inspector Mr. Carr, we mention that on this date he issued an order that a portion of the constabulary should, when on street duty, carry their rifles and side arms with both ball and buckshot in their pouches, the remainder of the men having batons only.

Townsend, 1309, Forbes, 4029. 49. At about 8 P.M. word came to the Town Inspector that a disturbance was going on at the Brickfields and on Falls-road. He found there two large crowds, namely, on the Brickfields towards the Shankhill-road, an anti-Home Rule or Protestant crowd, and facing this a Home Rule crowd from off the Falls-road. Colonel Forbes spoke to, and endeavoured to prevail upon both parties to retire. District Inspector Townsend was then ordered to put back the anti-Home Rule party off the Brickfields towards the Shankhill-road; the police quietly put them back, but in Percy-street, which leads up from the Brickfields to the Shankhill-road, the mob became very riotous, and freely stoned the police, injuring several of the constables, two of them very severely. They then wrecked the spirit shop of a publican named Bernard Duffy, who was the only Roman Catholic residing in Percy-street, and on the police forcing their way up the street to protect this house there was a good deal of stone-throwing and firing from catapults; among others District Inspector Townsend himself was hit, but the police successfully forced the mob back on to the Shankhill-road; then, finding reinforcements were necessary, Colonel Forbes took word to the Brickfields and informed the Town Inspector, who was now busily engaged with the Home Rulers who were rioting or inciting to riot on the Falls-road. Here, however, comparative tranquillity was soon restored, and with as little delay as possible the Town Inspector, with a force of police, accompanied Colonel Forbes to the Shankhill-road; they were again stoned on their way up, and having joined forces with District Inspector Townsend, the Town Inspector, Mr. Carr, charged the mob back along the Shankhill-road, past the Bowershill (or Shankhill) barracks. The mob still continued riotous, and there was more or less disturbance until after midnight.

Carr, 109, 136, 107. 50. At about 9 o'clock on the same evening, some anti-Home Rulers or Protestants broke the windows of a house in North Boundary-street, which leads up off the Shankhill-road to the Old Lodge-road, and some constables being stoned in this street, made their way by Northumberland-street and so round into the Bowershill barracks, when stones were at once thrown, smashing the windows of the barracks. District Inspector Bull was at this time sent from the Brickfields with a force of police to quell the disturbance in North Boundary-street. On his way up through Dover-street his party was severely stoned by an anti-Home Rule mob, which he was forced to charge up on to the Shankhill-road. Here these rioters again threw stones at the police, but the baton-men dispersed them, and Mr. Bull was able to push on with his party to North Boundary-street, where he found all was then quiet.

Reath, 3363-64. 51. At this time, namely at about 10 P.M., District Inspector Grene was proceeding with a party of sixteen constables to protect the public house kept by a Roman Catholic named M'Glade, at 119 Petershill, opposite to Dover-street, and on their way up the anti-Home Rule party stoned them in Dover-street, and again from Mr. M'Glade's corner, as they entered into Petershill, at the end of the Shankhill-road. They found when they arrived that the attack on M'Glade's public house had already been commenced, and damage had been done by stones for which £6 10s. compensation was subsequently awarded; the opportune arrival of the police on this occasion probably saved the house.

Greene, 2918-25. 52. It was more than an hour after midnight before the bulk of the police force could be released from duty, and it is important to note that although rifles and side-arms were carried on this day, Monday, June 7, by a portion of the constabulary, neither were made use of, and we may add that not a single county or so-called "foreign" constable had arrived in the town. With regard to the very extraordinary precautions adopted on Monday forenoon for the preservation of the peace at Queen's Island (par. 44), it should be borne in mind that during the early part of this

Carr, 132-131. 53. It was more than an hour after midnight before the bulk of the police force could be released from duty, and it is important to note that although rifles and side-arms were carried on this day, Monday, June 7, by a portion of the constabulary, neither were made use of, and we may add that not a single county or so-called "foreign" constable had arrived in the town. With regard to the very extraordinary precautions adopted on Monday forenoon for the preservation of the peace at Queen's Island (par. 44), it should be borne in mind that during the early part of this

day nothing like disorder had occurred; and we are satisfied that such precautions can only have been deemed necessary by the authorities in view of the outrageous and dastardly proceedings of a riotous section of the Home Rule party on the preceding day, which naturally gave rise to grave apprehension lest all the worst political passions should be stirred in the corresponding section of the anti-Home Rule party. That this forecast was only too literally verified is evidenced by what took place on this Monday afternoon and up to midnight, during which time the conduct of the riotous section of the anti-Home Rule party was characterised by every feature that disgraced the records of their proceedings during the subsequent three months.

53. We deem it our duty to report to your Excellency that we question the wisdom shown by the authorities in adopting such marked and apparently excessive precautions in regard to the employees on the Queen's Island, thus necessarily weakening the protection afforded to other localities. We are of opinion that more suitable and effective measures might have been devised with less publicity, and all cause for needless offence to a large and much respected body of the industrial population would have then been avoided.

9 members of the constabulary were more or less injured on this date.

Constab.
Returns.

54. We now report to your Excellency that the origin of the riots and disturbances into which we have been directed to inquire may be traced to the unfortunate combination of the following circumstances:—The strong political feeling generally prevailing in Belfast; The feverish excitement produced by the general election in December, 1885, followed in January by the change of ministry, together with the sudden and unexpected advance of the Home Rule question; The agitation for and against Home Rule, and the preparations for another general election, which were carried on from January to July with great earnestness by both political parties; On the 3rd June, the Blakeley and Murphy incident, trivial in itself, but a spark in the midst of combustible material; On the 4th June, the scandalous outrage committed by a section of the anti-Home Rule party on the Alexandra Dock labourers, causing the death of the young lad Curran; On Sunday, 6th June, the demonstration and wanton rioting by a section of the Home Rule party, on the occasion of Curran's funeral; At the critical period prior to this, the want of effective preparation by any of the authorities in Belfast to anticipate these and like emergencies; The neglect to call together the borough magistracy, especially as the temporary absence of the Mayor only rendered the necessity for their meeting more imperative; On Monday, 7th June, the ill-advised display of a strong force of both military and police at the Queen's Island yard; Lastly, the order issued on this date that a number of the police should carry their rifles and side arms when on duty in the streets of Belfast, an order which appears to have been contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter of the constabulary code, and which, in our opinion, whilst it certainly impaired the efficiency of the police force, may have tended to greatly increase the excitement and restless distrust already stirred up in the anti-Home Rule party.

Code, p. 156
Sec. 490.

V.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE RIOTS AS THEY CONTINUED AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR CONTINUANCE.

55. *Tuesday, 8th June.*—On the 8th June, news of the rejection of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons at about 1 A.M. having reached Belfast, we find that between four and five o'clock in the morning some of the anti-Home Rule bands turned out and paraded the streets. At 6.15 A.M. a mob, accompanied by a drum-and-fife band, again entered Mr. McKinney's brick and oven works; they drove out the whole of the Home-Rule and other labourers, and burned the clothes left in the pit where they had been working. The engine had to be stopped, and the whole of these unfortunate people were thrown out of work and idle for some eight or ten days; there was a good deal of excitement throughout Belfast, and towards evening the bands and their followers resumed their more mischievous character.

Bill, 1813,

McKinney,
14166—154

Disorderly
11411—414
Carr, 123.

56. During the day arrangements were set on foot by certain of the anti-Home-Rule party to signalize their rejoicings in the evening by kindling bonfires on the streets, which coming to the knowledge of the Town Inspector, Mr. Carr, he thereupon issued a written order to the officers of constabulary to the effect that in regard to these bonfires, "as long as the persons confined themselves to their own localities and did not commit any outrages, the police would not interfere;" consequently District-Inspector Townsend informed

Townsend,
1428—1459

1303. several of the Queen's Island men on their way home of this understanding, and told
 Townsend, them to tell their friends. In the course of the day, i.e., between 9 A.M. and 9 P.M.,
 1415-1420. the entire extra force of 400 constabulary, telegraphed for on the previous day, arrived
 Const. in Belfast; this force consisted of detachments of fifty men from each of the eight
 Returns. counties—Monaghan, Tyrone, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Cavan, Derry, and Donegal,
 Carr, and later on the greater part of these men were detailed for duty on the streets. We
 131-134. should mention that in order to remedy the want of local knowledge on the part of
 783. these county constabulary, it was arranged that a small proportion (about one-sixth) of
 Townsend, each detached party should consist of selected town police, and, generally speaking, one-
 1314. third of the whole number were armed with batons, the remainder having rifles and
 1467. side arms.

Carr, 125. 57. At about 5 P.M. a sergeant and five constables were placed in charge of
 Bernard Duffy's spirit shop in Percy-street, the attempt to wreck which on the preceding
 evening has already been described (par. 49). It appears that as the evening closed in,
 Rev. J. Stodd, after eight o'clock, rioting was resumed in several localities, and numerous bonfires were
 3441. kindled by the anti-Home Rule party, the whole force of constabulary being more
 Carr, 121. or less actively engaged in endeavouring to keep in check the riotous sections of Home
 1001. Rulers and anti-Home Rulers. At 9 P.M. one of the constables placed in charge of
 Carr, 121. Duffy's spirit shop brought a message from his sergeant to the Town Inspector, Mr.
 Townsend, Carr, and the grave transactions which shortly followed cannot be better explained
 1208. to your Excellency than by quoting verbatim the shorthand writer's notes of this
 officer's clear and lucid statement. Town Inspector Carr in his answers, 125, 126,
 127, states:—

Carr, 125. "About nine o'clock a constable of the party so put in charge of Duffy's house
 "came to me on the brickfields and said he had been sent by the sergeant
 "to say that the house was attacked, and that he could not hold it. I
 "told the man to go back to his sergeant and inform him that he must
 "hold the house, that I had no men to help him then, but that if he could
 "convey word to the officer who was in charge of the men in the North
 "District on the Shankhill-road, he would send him assistance. Very
 "shortly afterwards the man came back to me and said the police had
 "been driven out of the house, that they had been dispersed, he could not
 "tell where, and that he was afraid their lives were in danger. Then I
 "resolved to go up with the 82 men I had.

126. "He, the constable, said "that the house had been wrecked—completely wrecked,
 "and that he could not tell what had become of his comrades. When I
 "got to the corner of Percy-street there was a young officer with a party
 "of men there, and he was proceeding to charge up the street. I called
 "him back, however, and I had a consultation with Mr. Townsend, the
 "senior officer with me. He said the aspect of affairs looked very
 "threatening. At that moment we heard the breaking of glass and wood
 "in the street, and we knew it was a house being attacked, as we thought,
 "up the street.

127. "When we came near Duffy's house, that was being wrecked, we were
 "met with a shower of stones—a very heavy shower of stones,
 "and there were also a great number of bottles thrown
 "at us, bottles that had evidently been taken out of the public house.
 "The mob at this time consisted of some hundreds, and they had looted
 "the place. The taps in the barrels were all turned on, everything in the
 "house was floating about, and the place was completely wrecked.

"I charged past the house with the men I had, and I collected the police that
 "had been driven into the houses in the immediate locality. As soon as
 "they found their own comrades had come up, they came out and joined
 "our ranks. When I was engaged collecting these men the stone-
 "throwing became so heavy that I was obliged to charge again. That
 "time I fixed bayonets for the charge. Of the thirty-two men of the
 "Louth force there were fourteen or sixteen, I am not positive which,
 "had rifles. I charged for some little distance, and the moment I halted
 "the stoning became worse than ever; so bad, indeed, that I was obliged
 "to charge the third time.

"When I was charging the third time I was struck with a stone on the fore-
 "head. The peak of my helmet was split through, and I was knocked
 "down. At the same moment I had the thumb of my left hand split
 "with a stone, and I was hit in the leg. Several of my men were struck
 "and severely injured. They became so much broken up that I was

Townsend,
 1453.

- "obliged, when I became sensible—for I was stunned for about half a minute or so—after rallying the men, to fall back a little distance.
- "The stones were coming up in showers upon us. I then stepped out in front of the men, took off my helmet, produced the Riot Act, and read it. M'Kibbin, 1113B.
- "Having done so I cautioned all women and children to get off the street, as I was about to fire. I then ordered the fourteen men to load, believing that the fact of loading would cause the rioters to disperse. I kept the men loading for some two or three minutes.
- "The stone-throwing became even worse, and at length I gave orders to fire Townsend, 1303—1811
- "by numbers—'No. 1, Fire! No. 2, Fire! No. 3, Fire! No. 4, Fire!'—with an interval of a couple of seconds between each shot. Then three rifles were discharged together. In fact the shouting was so great at the 1440—1456
- "time these three shots were fired that the men could not hear the precise order I gave, and thinking that they should carry on a sort of file-firing, discharged their rifles, three together. I at once gave the order to 'cease firing.'
- "The shots that had been fired had the effect of checking the mob so far that I was enabled to retire out of the street, as I found from the Townsend, 1730—1734
- "locality and the few men I had, that except I proceeded to the Robertson, 1231B.
- "desperate extremity of shooting as fast and as vigorously as I could, that I would not be able to hold that street.
- "When I got on to the Brickfields, close adjoining, I found that I was getting weak from loss of blood, and I told Mr. Townsend to take charge, and to wire at once to Mr. Cullen to ask him to come down and take charge, and to wire to all the districts in the town to collect whatever available men they could, and to bring them without the least delay to the Brickfields. I was then taken to the barracks, where the doctors—there were two sent for—attended to me, stitching up the wounds. I was then taken home in a cab, and I was confined in the house for fourteen days, and was a further ten days off duty—twenty-four days in all."

58. The foregoing simple narrative speaks for itself, but it is proper to state that the frank and essentially manly bearing of this experienced officer would, if necessary, have tended to strengthen our certainty that the treatment received by the police from the drunken and maddened mob must have indeed been brutally violent before it induced him to sanction the extreme measure of ordering the first rifle to be discharged by the constabulary.

59. The crowd in Percy-street on this occasion consisted of the "very lowest scum of the locality," and they were infuriated with drink, the missiles thrown by them at the police were very large paving-stones and full bottles of beer or porter that had been taken from Duffy's shop. The only action which had the smallest effect in checking their violence was the firing of the buck-shot: it was subsequently ascertained on examining the constabulary pouches, that nine men had fired one round of buckshot each, but it is not known that any one was injured, although it has been rumoured that two were struck with pellets. Carr, 255. 254.

60. This firing in Percy-street was the first instance of the constabulary using their rifles during the riots. The Town Inspector being himself a magistrate read the Riot Act, and all proper care and humane forethought were exhibited on this occasion before he, as a Magistrate and also as the Constabulary Officer in a special degree responsible for the peace of the town, ordered the men under his command to fire on the people, evidently under a firm conviction that the rifle fire was at the moment their only effective means of defence. After the police had left Percy-street and returned to the Brickfields, the mob seem to have completed the destruction and waste of any property that was still intact in Duffy's public house, and, under the influence of drink and other excitement, the mobs on the Shankill-road and neighbourhood became very riotous. Carr, 448. 353. 354. Duffy, 1409B—1410B. 1410C. Greene, 2924.

61. Later on in the day the work of plunder and mischief was commenced at O'Hare's spirit shop, situated on the Shankill-road, near North Howard-street, the chimney was set on fire, and the tops of the barrels turned on; the wrecking party, however, escaped from the house on the arrival of a mixed police force of some ten or fourteen men who had been collected from the Bowershill barrack, from Agnes-street, and from the Crumlin-road. This small force, under the command of Head Constable Tilson, from County Donegal, endeavoured to protect the property, contending for some time at great disadvantage with a wild, stone-throwing mob. Gerrard, 303—304. Hughes, 347A. Tolan, 1822.

62. On the fire-brigade coming up, the flames in the chimney at O'Hare's were soon Kelly, 1194B.

extinguished, and the superintendent of the fire-brigade despatched one of his men for reinforcements. The Head Constable—apparently an aged but active and trusty officer—finding his men hardly pressed ordered them to fix swords and again charged; but obviously a hayonet charge, which is so effective against a determined enemy, is worse than useless as a weapon of offence against a cowardly stone-throwing mob that will not stand their ground; any one with a knowledge of the weapon should know full well how much it impedes the pace, and even if under such difficulties the constabulary could overtake any of the less active of the runaways, we recognise very strongly that the instinctive humanity of the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary would effectually prevent the use of the hayonet in the back of any one.

63. Two of this small force of police had been very severely injured and others more or less so, when a young Englishman who belonged to the *town police force*, and consequently, had perhaps never before shouldered a rifle except for drill purposes, began to clamour for permission to fire. Head-Constable Tilson ordered him to keep steady and warned him not to fire, which this constable, however, disregarded, and he appears shortly afterwards to have fired either two or four charges of buckshot, but without injuring any one. Apparently the constabulary must at this time have been posted at the Shankhill-road, near the end of North Howard-street; the rioters were operating against them in two crowds, one being to the left front in Crimes-street, and the other a little distance to their right front in Beresford-street—the latter crowd, being between the police and the Bowershill barrack, exposed the barrack to attack. The Head Constable, in charging up towards the Bowershill barrack, and when loading his men, got dislodged from them and cut off by this Beresford-street mob; his party of police after returning to North Howard-street consulted as to their position, and recognising the futility of continuing so unequal a contest, and not knowing what might have happened to their Head-Constable, they decided to force their way at once to the Brickfields and obtain reinforcements, without which, unless they fired steadily with buckshot, they felt unable to deal with the rioters.

64. On arriving at the Brickfields they reported the position of matters to the District Inspector in charge near the Model School, and a large force of constabulary and also of military were sent to the Bowershill barrack to restore order. The Head Constable, Mr. Tilson, remained on the Shankhill-road between Beresford-street and the barrack, with his sword fixed, until the relieving force arrived. Subsequently Mr. McCarthy, R.M., read the Riot Act, and the police with some little difficulty dispersed the crowds. The bonfires gradually burnt out, and after one o'clock in the morning the town became more quiet.

65. The foregoing we believe to be a fairly correct account of the circumstances connected with the second instance of firing by the police, on the 8th June; it will be noticed that it was by a member of the town police force who is an Englishman, and that it was a distinct breach of discipline on his part, but consideration should at the same time be given to the helpless position in which he and his comrades found themselves placed. We say helpless, for the rifles and side-arms with which the greater number of these police were armed proved a serious hindrance to their effective action against the stone-throwers, the weight of the arms and their cumbersome equipment impeding them in pursuit, and so hampering their movements as to enable the crowd to attack them almost at close quarters with impunity, and if the constables, seizing their opportunity, attempted to use the rifle as a club, the action of the police was at once looked upon as unduly violent, if not actually brutal.

66. Practically these policemen were defenceless; had they been unencumbered with rifles or ammunition, it is possible that, whether with or without batons, they might have pressed into this crowd, and that their strong arms and stout hearts would have enabled them to cope with their assailants; but had they pressed in amongst this crowd with their rifles in hand, one or more would certainly have been easily overpowered by numbers, and the mob have possessed themselves of hot rifles and ammunition, which in their then frenzied state they would, more likely than not, have used against the police.

67. We deem it right at this point to refer your Excellency to the Report of the Constabulary Commission, Ireland, 1866. Three members of the Commission then appended separate statements dealing with the question of arming of the police, and it will be found that the Chairman recommended a short carbine to be substituted for the Minie rifle then in use, on the ground of the carbine possessing "the great advantage—especially valuable in the case of a policeman—of being readily used as a club in the case of a faction fight or riotous crowd." The Constabulary evidently felt the inexpediency of putting it to this use, for although some did so use it they did not persevere.

68. Before closing our reference to the occurrences on the evening of the 8th June, we may refer to the fact that the public house of Mr. Hassan in Agnes-street was attacked and looted, and injury also was done to Mr. Devlin's public house in North Queen-street, in both instances by a section of the anti-Hom's Rule party. Further, for some hours it was with great difficulty that Dist.-Insp. Stritch prevented a collision between the two political parties in Durham-street. At a little after ten o'clock this officer was very severely injured by a heavy stone striking him on the head, which incapacitated him and confined him to bed for four weeks. He is still suffering from the effects of the blow.

Stones,
1911-1914.
See page,
1271.

Stritch,
1910-1911,
1912-1913.

3351.

69. In considering the subsequent course of events which it is our duty to relate, we submit that your Excellency will take into account the serious loss of *directing power* sustained by the Belfast police force consequent on the disablement of both the chief officer, Town Inspector Carr, and the West Dist.-Insp., Mr. Stritch. Reference to the map will show the special importance attaching to the police command in this West District, comprising as it does supervision of all the property, traffic, and intercommunication to the south of an imaginary line running from west to east throughout the centre of the Shankhill-road and Petershill, together with that thickly populated and disturbed area lying between this line and Grosvenor-street.

12 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 69 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

Constab.
Returns.

70. *Wednesday, 9th June.*—The divisional magistrate, Assistant Insp.-Gen. Cullen, having assumed temporary charge of the constabulary, he immediately communicated the circumstances to the Inspector General in Dublin. The Commandant of the Dublin Constabulary Depot, Mr. Newland, was then ordered to proceed to Belfast to take command of the constabulary, but he did not arrive until 9 o'clock on this Wednesday evening; so that throughout the whole day, and up to that time, Mr. Cullen remained in responsible charge.

Cullen, 1915,
858.

71. Early on this morning Mr. Nagle, R.M., and Mr. MacLeod, R.M., arrived in Belfast, having been sent in compliance with the request made by Mr. Cullen on the 7th June. During the forenoon the resident magistrates—Colonel Forbes, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Nagle, and Mr. MacLeod—held a meeting, at which the Mayor and Mr. Cullen thought fit to be present. Various proposals were submitted and discussed at this meeting, and ultimately certain arrangements were made for the night duty, allotting the localities to which the police were to be distributed, and naming the resident magistrates who were to be on duty in the different places. Provision had been made by Mr. Cullen early in the morning for the protection of the Alexandra Dock labourers, but we find no evidence of any extra protection having been furnished to other parts of the town until late in the day.

W'Leod,
1911, 1912,
Constabulary
Returns.

1913.

Witherford,
1911, 1912,
Constab.
Returns.

W'Leod, 1915,
Cullen, 1915.

72. In regard to the West District, the evidence given by Dist.-Insp. Townsend is to the effect that he was directed by Mr. Cullen to go to the West District to place the men on duty and to have them told off for the various points in that district; that he attended to this duty at 5.30 p.m., distributing 235 men (town and county) which had been placed at his disposal; of these we note that he ordered Dist.-Insp. Dwyer, with 15 County Tyrone and 5 town police, to proceed to O'Hare's public-house on the Shankhill-road at the corner of North Howard-street, and he sent another party of 6 men to take duty at the south or Falls-road end of the same street.

Townsend,
1912

1913, 1914.

1463-1464

73. In the North District we find that shortly before 5 p.m. Dist.-Insp. Grene paraded at Donagall-street barrack the 70 available men of this district, together with 140 county men who had been placed at his disposal, and having formed them into detachments of various strength, with a certain proportion of town police in each, he directed them to their appointed localities. We note that he ordered 10 men (5 county and 5 town) to take duty in Agnes Street; that he sent Dist.-Insp. Mulliner, with 35 County Westmeath and 5 town police, to the Bowershill barrack; and that he stationed Dist.-Insp. Sullivan with a reserve force (about 30 County Donegal men and 5 town police) at North Boundary-street, about half-a-mile from Bowershill.

Grene,
1915, 1916,
1917-1918.

Sullivan,
1914.

74. Now, it appears from the evidence that all the available men having been summoned from Bowershill barrack to attend this 5 o'clock parade in Donagall-street, their departure was at once seized upon by a section of the people in the neighbourhood as affording a favourable opportunity for renewing the attack upon O'Hare's public-house at the corner of North Howard-street, for the constables had not been away ten minutes, when a large crowd commenced to wreck this house. There were at the time only three of the constabulary (Sergeant Murray, Sergeant Harper, and Constable Reath) in Bowershill barrack, and Constable Reath, being the barrack orderly, immediately telegraphed to Donagall-street for men to come up.

Reath, 1917

1918.

1919

Mulliner,
2173.

2177.

75. Dist.-Insp. Mulliner, who was on his way there, very shortly arrived with his detachment, halting in front of the Bowershill barrack soon after 5 p.m., when his men were immediately stoned from various places. On the barrack orderly telling him that the mob were attacking O'Hare's, he at once marched on to that point. The stone-throwing at his party was continued, and finding that the crowd was increasing and coming nearer and nearer, Dist.-Insp. Mulliner divided his detachment into two divisions; with one he charged straight up the Shankhill-road and more or less scattered the crowd; the other division he placed under the command of Head Constable Markham and directed him to charge from O'Hare's corner down the road to the left—namely, down North Howard-street.

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76. Just then, at 5.30 p.m., when the police were thus operating against a mischievous stone-throwing crowd near O'Hare's, some 1,300 workmen, leaving off work at their ordinary time, came out of the gate from Messrs. Coombe & Barbour's foundry on to North Howard-street, and fully 800 of them hurried on en masse at a quick pace towards the Shankhill-road, this being their route homeward. The evidence is conflicting as to what happened at this juncture, but it appears clear that this body of men was charged and dispersed by the police. Both the workmen and the police who were examined as to what occurred gave their testimony with evident candour and sincerity, and the workmen manifested very strongly their desire not to press the case unfairly against the constabulary; nevertheless we are unable to form a decided opinion on the merits of this case, namely, whether any of these workmen gave cause for police interference or not; but we have no doubt whatever that the small detachment of Westmeath county police, at most 20 men (of whom only 7 would carry batons), under Head Constable Markham, used batons on some of the workmen, and we fear that many of the workmen may, without premeditation and very possibly innocently, have become intermingled with the riotous section who were then (as shown by their own evidence) engaged in stone-throwing and wrecking O'Hare's public-house. This occurrence, subsequently known as the Coombe & Barbour incident, greatly increased the excitement then prevailing, and intensified the prejudice so widely and unreasonably entertained against the county police.

77. After charging up the Shankhill-road, Dist.-Insp. Mulliner brought his men back to their original position near O'Hare's, and, as the crowd kept constantly approaching, he occasionally charged them; meanwhile he also went to the Bowershill barrack and telegraphed to the Donegall-street Office that there was bad work going on, and he asked that the other men of his own detachment might be sent up. Soon after this Dist.-Insp. Dwyer, with his detachment already mentioned, arrived for duty at O'Hare's, and he co-operated with Dist.-Insp. Mulliner on the Shankhill-road.

78. Mr. McLeod, R.M., having been allocated for duty at Bowershill, entered the barrack at about 5.50 p.m., and he speaks to having on his way there noticed a policeman with his face bleeding, and a crowd stone-throwing. He appears to have made some inquiry as to this, and Dist.-Insp. Mulliner mentioned to him that he did not like the appearance of things; but Mr. McLeod, R.M., attached very little importance to it.

79. Dist.-Insp. Grene arrived almost immediately afterwards, and seeing the excitement, and, as he states, believing there was "little left in O'Hare's to protect," he did not think it would be wise to leave this force of police on the road. He then went into the barrack and explained this to Mr. McLeod, R.M., who in his evidence stated "He (Mr. Grene) also said further, and it made a wonderful impression on me, that he "would not be responsible for the peace, if the police were brought out into the streets." Mr. McLeod, R.M., gave his assent, and Dist.-Insp. Grene then told Mr. Mulliner and nearly all of his detachment to go into the barrack; and they did so, leaving a sergeant and 7 of their men at O'Hare's. Dist.-Insp. Dwyer and his detachment remained on duty in the same neighbourhood. Dist.-Insp. Grene then drove out to Ardoyne to see the Rev. Mr. Anthony, and to arrange for furnishing a force of 20 men for the protection of the monastery, as the Rev. Mr. Anthony had written that he was apprehensive that it would be attacked, and the district-inspector was anxious to assure this gentleman that there was nothing to be afraid of.

80. We now mention to your Excellency that a message was received at about 6 p.m. by Mr. George Horner, borough magistrate, and by Mr. Lavina Ewart, magistrate for County Antrim, asking them to proceed to Bowershill to assist in the preservation of the peace. Moreover, according to the evidence, two other borough magistrates, Mr. Gaffikin and Mr. Workman, called upon the Rev. Dr. Johnston, saying that they came from the Mayor and magistrates to request that he would get Dr. Hanna to accompany him to the Shankhill-road, that together they might use their influence as far as they could to keep the people quiet. The Revs. Dr. Johnston and Dr. Hanna hurried away from the General Assembly at which they were then attending, and after telling the two

magistrates that they would assist the authorities to the utmost of their power, they arranged to meet at St. Knoch's Church at 7 P.M., and proceed direct to Shankhill-road, which they did. Mr. Horner arrived at Bowershill barrack at about 6.15 P.M.; and Mr. Lavins Ewart shortly after 7 P.M.

81. We trust your Excellency will appreciate our reason for being thus exact in this narrative, for it is due to these public spirited and fearless gentlemen, that we should make it abundantly clear that their services were called in at the last moment, when every guarantee relied upon for the preservation of the peace had miscarried, and when the relations between the constabulary and the populace of this district were practically in extremis. The constabulary had already been withdrawn in the face of a maddened drunken mob in Percy-street on the previous evening, and under all the circumstances we believe very properly so; also a detachment had retired on the previous evening off the Shankhill-road from the face of a stone-throwing crowd near O'Hare's public house; and on this Wednesday evening, previous to the arrival of these local clergy and magistrates on the Shankhill-road, Dist.-Insp. Grene, with the approval of the resident magistrate, had directed the withdrawal of fully thirty men into the barrack, from the front of the same stone-throwing section of rioters near O'Hare's. It is in the light of the foregoing indisputable and proved facts, that the subsequent advice, either tendered or assented to by these local gentlemen, must be weighed and estimated.

82. Dist.-Insp. Grene states that when he drove away to call on the Rev. Mr. Anthony, at Ardoyne, there was "some little excitement" on the Shankhill-road, but on his return at about 6.30 P.M. he found this road had filled up, and he noticed the people, "and they seemed to be excited." He went down to the Bowershill barrack, and some conversation passed between him and Mr. McLeod, R.M., as to the rumour that a boy had been seriously injured by the police in one of the baton charges. Dist.-Insp. Grene then, at the request of Mr. McLeod, R.M., left to make inquiry as to this, and on his way he was told that a man was lying dangerously injured in Dr. Lewers' surgery on the Shankhill-road. He went into the surgery and found the man stretched out on or near the floor, the doctor being then engaged dressing his wounds, as he was badly hurt about the head. From Dr. Lewers' evidence there can be no doubt that one or more of the constables had used undue violence towards this man, and as he was reported to be one of Messrs. Coombe & Barbour's foundrymen, there was great indignation amongst the people.

83. Shortly afterwards, on leaving the surgery, Dist.-Insp. Grene met Dr. Hanna and Dr. Johnston, and they strongly advised the withdrawal of all the police from the street; they also said that if the police were withdrawn to the barrack they would use their influence to get the people to disperse. Dist.-Insp. Grene then went into the barrack and reported to Mr. McLeod, R.M., what he had seen, and what he had heard from Dr. Hanna and Dr. Johnston, and he suggested that their advice should be taken, and "the experiment tried, as he saw no use in keeping the men on the street when *there was nothing worth fighting for.*" Mr. Lavins Ewart, J.P., and Mr. George Horner, J.P., were present, and they agreed with Dist.-Insp. Grene, who then, with the sanction of the three magistrates, went out and took the remainder of the County Westmeath men and of his own district constables, together with five of Dist.-Insp. Dwyer's County Tyrone men, into the Bowershill barrack.

84. At about 7.50 P.M. Dist.-Insp. Grene received a telegram that there was a disturbance in North Queen-street, "and thinking that, with the aid of the two "clergymen, things had quieted down on the Shankhill-road, he went to his office in "Donagall-street, and wrote a report of everything he had done, and saying what he "considered the best thing to be done." Dist.-Insp. Grene, continuing his evidence, states, "I had hardly finished writing that report, when word came to say that they "were worse than ever on the Shankhill-road. I got a car and went to North "Boundary-street, and I found Mr. Sullivan's men in the school. I saw a constable at "the corner of the street, and I told him to tell Mr. Sullivan to follow me up with his "available force. I reached Shankhill-road half-an-hour before Mr. Sullivan did. At "this time it must have been a quarter-past 8 o'clock, as I wrote the report about "8 o'clock."

85. What had occurred during Dist.-Insp. Grene's absence was as follows:—On the withdrawal of the police from O'Hare's (which the Rev. Dr. Johnston refers to in his evidence as the scene of contention), these two clergymen, Dr. Johnston and Dr. Hanna, got the people assembled together to the number of fully 2000 in a vacant space near Berlin-street, and they there addressed them from an extemporized platform in the most earnest manner, "telling them of the folly and wickedness of fighting the police," and they implored the people, "for God's sake and their own sake, to go home."

Grene,
2950.

2961.

2963.

2974.

Dwyer,
3318.

Grene,
2974.

Ballifree,
2997.

Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6009.

Rev. Dr.
Hanna,
9428.

After exhorting them in this strain for some little time Dr. Hanna left Dr. Johnston "in charge of one mob" near Berlin-street, and he went himself "to look after the mob" in *North Howard-street*. The Rev. Dr. Johnston stated in evidence—"For about an hour I kept my mob at the upper side at bay, and walking across the road I kept them from going near the scene of contention for about an hour, with a good deal to do. They were a very riotous and ill disposed set, and were particularly anxious for the enjoyment of stone-throwing."

86. Whilst the clergy were thus actively engaged endeavouring to calm the large bulk of the comparatively less evil disposed body of the people, the more dangerous and reckless section resumed the pillaging at O'Hare's, in which there was still much liquor left; they burned the beds and were throwing out the clothes and burning them on the street. Word of this reached the Bowershill barrack and Dist.-Insp. Mulliner promptly called for the Westmeath men, "the man of my own detachment," and they lost not a moment, but charged down the street towards O'Hare's, and the mob fell back, stopping the police, however, continually. On receiving the report as to this attack on O'Hare's, the resident magistrate, Mr. McLeod (who up to this time had remained in the Bowershill barrack), said to the local magistrates: "I think we can have no doubt, having regard to this state of facts, as to what our duty ought to be, and we must go out to that place." These three gentlemen then proceeded to O'Hare's, and they remained there for some time eye-witnesses of the depredations and lawlessness.

87. We must now refer again to the evidence by Dist.-Insp. Grene, who, having been informed of this renewed disturbance, as already mentioned, was driving in haste from Donegall-street to O'Hare's. He says: "On my way I found a crowd of about 1,500 people at Agnes-street, and I heard a suggestion that I should be pulled off the car, but I was able to get through, and when I got to the barrack I found all the force was at O'Hare's house, and beyond this were a large crowd of not less than 4,000 people—above the force—and 1,000 or 1,500 people in a crowd below them. I went and saw Mr. McLeod, R.M., and I told him (as I told him before) I did not think anything left in O'Hare's house was worth fighting for; and I also told him it might exasperate the crowd more to keep the police on the streets, as I was aware Dr. Johnston and Dr. Hanna had made speeches to the people, saying the police were withdrawn." At this period we will quote from the evidence of Mr. McLeod, R.M.: "Well, my lord and gentlemen, all this time the crowd in the West, that I have mentioned, appeared to be increased in dimensions, and I, observing the fact, said to some of the magistrates, 'I do not like that crowd up there.' I had seen a clergyman that someone told me was the Rev. Mr. Hanna moving about amongst them. Then there was another hostile crowd which got between us and the barrack, and which assumed large dimensions. Then I thought the appearance of things was very serious, and that we should be very sharp about what we were doing or we should be isolated."

88. It appears that the resident magistrate, Mr. McLeod—holding as he did these views of the situation, and being most strongly pressed by Dist.-Insp. Grene and Mr. George Horner, J.P., to withdraw the police from the streets—eventually said to these gentlemen, "If you think it would be desirable, in the interests of peace, we will try to get to the barrack," and he gave the order for the police to return to the Bowershill barrack, intending to telephone from there to the Queen-street police barrack for large and considerable reinforcements.

89. It is due to Mr. McLeod, R.M., that we should state to your Excellency that he appears to have acted in entire ignorance of the all-important fact that, at this very moment, Dist.-Insp. Grene was aware that a reserve of fully 30 County Donegal men (in obedience to that officer's order, par. 84) was making its way from North Boundary-street westward to Bowershill barrack, for, had Mr. McLeod, R.M., been acquainted with this fact, it might have been evident to him from his long experience that a brief delay would be likely to afford special facilities for extricating his men and also for disposing of the crowds in detail if such became necessary.

90. We may note that the approach of this reserve, and its contact with the east side of the Bowershill mob, would instantly signal itself by causing a movement amongst that mob, then one-half or fully 30 men of the original force would have amply sufficed to guard O'Hare's and to keep in check the upper mobs, whilst the other 30 men would have instantly advanced (not retreated) down to the barrack, and if the smaller intervening crowd misconducted themselves, numbers of them would have been effectually entrapped at a point close to the barrack, and therefore convenient for securing prisoners.

91. Continuing our narrative of events we find that, in obedience to the order given, a force of about sixty men in all (only half of whom were armed with batons)

Mulliner,
2179
Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6815.
McLeod,
2810.
Ewart,
8433.

Grene,
2977.

McLeod,
2810.

Horner,
8971.
Grene,
2978.
McLeod,
2810.

McLeod,
2810.

commenced to retire from O'Hare's towards the barrack, Dist.-Insp. Grene leaving them and going to the corner of Moscow-street, to bring in a small party who were detached on duty at that point, and were then being stoned. Thus it happened that the main body were retiring without any one being in supreme active command other than the resident magistrate, a fact which the latter was probably unaware of. This movement of the police from O'Hare's was the signal for a combined attack being made upon them by the mob intervening between O'Hare's and the barrack, and by the crowds occupying the side streets, and for instant stone-throwing with great violence and ferocity. The other two large mobs, until then under the control of the clergymen, broke away, and came sweeping down upon the constabulary, the majority of whom were now for the third time, it must be remembered, *retiring by order*, under the circumstances already described, and although equipped with deadly breech-loading weapons, ball, and huckshot, they did not at this time make use of them either for offence or defence, but unhesitatingly obeyed all orders, and passively submitted to the indignity and violence that was heaped upon them.

92. The fierce onslaught to which these constables were subjected must have been brutal and cowardly in the extreme, but for the credit of the manhood in the crowds then on the Shankhill-road, it is to be hoped that their thousands could not at the moment have been aware of the helpless position in which this disciplined body of their countrymen were placed.

93. The police struggled on as best they could to the barrack (which is merely an ordinarily constructed house, and is entered direct from the Shankhill-road by a small gate and narrow doorway leading into a confined inner passage); the Westmeath county men under Dist.-Insp. Mulliner began to make their way into the barrack, but the small passage soon became blocked by them, and this young officer found himself wedged in by his own men. The critical position thus created requires no description, for it portrays itself. The effect on the mob was that all the wild instincts, not only of the vicious but also of the thoughtless, obtained the mastery; for the moment all self-restraint was abandoned, and paving-stones were showered on this entrapped body of police; the Resident Magistrate states that he then, as a formality that must be observed, read the Riot Act.

94. It was towards the close of this scene that Dist.-Insp. Grene arrived in front of the barrack with seven county constables and a sergeant whom he had brought away from Moscow-street. Dist. Insp. Grene speaks of these men being out of temper, and complaining much of having been stoned and hit, and further, that they asked him to allow them to fire before retiring from Moscow-street, which he refused, when one or two of the men again urged him to let them fire, but he would not, and he states that on the way to the barrack he had great difficulty in preventing them from firing. If this statement is accurate, we recognise that the stone-throwing and abuse endured for some hours, and the still more trying ordeal of this inglorious retirement under the orders of a strange officer, had excited these men and overstrained their discipline. In the adverse circumstances in which, through no fault of their own, this small party of men soon found themselves placed, the entry to the barrack being hopelessly blocked, the showers of stones falling with increasing violence, and having absolutely no other means of defence they (apparently contrary to the order of Dist.-Insp. Grene) opened fire. This firing was at once interpreted by the men in the barrack and others as *firing by order*, and they very naturally took up the firing both from the doorway and afterwards from the windows of the barrack.

95. Dist.-Insp. Mulliner describes this firing on the street and at the doorway thus: "I was inside, and was trying to make my way out, when I heard the shots and "went to see what was going on. Showers of stones—hundreds were flying at this time, and many men were coming into the barracks hurt. I heard some of the men "shouting out, 'Turn out, and fire,' and several of the men who were standing in the "passage near the doorway, and some of those who were forcing their way in, fired from "the doorway. All this happened very quickly, and in a few moments, I may say. "The rest of the men rushed to the doorway, the showers of stones still continuing, "Mr. Grene rushed up, and I think Mr. M'Leod, and afterwards Mr. Grene rushed in "and the door was shut." We gather from the evidence that the number of policemen thus shut in at this moment must have been about 72 all told—viz, 33 County Westmeath, 34 town, and 5 County Tyrone police. Mr. M'Leod, R.M., Mr. Horner, J.P., Dist.-Insp. Grene, Dist.-Insp. Mulliner, and at least two of the townspeople, were also inside this small building, which had hitherto afforded in our opinion very insufficient accommodation for 18 men. The confusion arising inside was very great, the passage and staircase were blocked with men, a furious downpour of stones rattled against the door and crashed through the windows. Dist.-Insp. Grene, then evidently fully alive to the

Grene,
2985.M'Leod,
2814.Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6603.Mulliner,
2290.
Grene,
3175.
M'Leod,
2814.

2816.

Mulliner,
2184.
Harper,
3254—3257
Mulliner,
2185
M'Leod,
2815,
2884—2889Grene,
2985—3007

3137—3145

M'Leod,
2815.
North,
2447—2454Mulliner,
2185.Constab.
Retainers.
Mulliner
and
two
Dwyer,
and
Smith, 2202

M'Leod,
5115.

Greene,
2017.
Mulliner,
2119.
Bullman,
2021.

Greene,
2022—2023.

Mulliner,
2119.
Sullivan,
2027.

Sullivan,
2027.

danger to which his men were exposed, exerted himself to get the lower shutters closed; but the upper room-windows had no shutters nor protection of any kind, and some of the constables commenced to use their rifles from the upper room. On hearing the Dist.-Insp. Grene went upstairs, and with some little difficulty cleared all the policemen, except 4 constables, out of the room, assuring them that he would himself carry on what firing was necessary for the safety of the barrack. Occasional and intermittent firing was then conducted from these windows by Dist.-Insp. Grene with his small firing party to keep back the more aggressive of the rioters, and to prevent them closing on the barrack from the surrounding side streets.

95. Very shortly after this (about ten minutes after Dist.-Insp. Grene had left the street) Dist.-Insp. Sullivan and his reserve force of 35 men (only one-third having rifles) reached the barrack. It may be well to quote from this young officer's evidence, not only on account of his being free from all share in the previous incidents, but also because, amidst all the excitement, he gave conspicuous proof of his sound common-sense and resource:—

"At about 8.15 P.M. 'I got a message which, I believe, came from Mr. Grene, 'that I was to bring all my men up to Bowershill barrack, and, if possible, 'to go by the back streets, as there was a disturbance going on—at least 'that is what I understood the order to be, it was only a verbal order. 'I got my men out, and paraded them, and we went by back streets, and 'on turning into Agnes-street—just as we turned into Agnes-street—I 'heard a volley of shots, and I at once saw that firing was going on. 'However, I marched down Agnes-street—Agnes-street runs at right 'angles with the Shankhill-road—and as we were going down the street 'I saw that the whole street before us was thick with people, and on the 'Shankhill-road, on entering into it we found that it was black with 'people. And the people, as soon as they saw us coming, began to stone 'us, and the people behind us also collected, and likewise began to stone 'us. We were then between two lots. I marched my men down a little 'bit further on, and I then heard a second volley, and I thought from the 'sound of it that it had come from the barrack, and that they were 'probably firing up the road. * * * We ran through the crowd, and 'turned the corner into the Shankhill-road, and as I didn't know the barrack, 'I had passed it about twenty yards when I heard a shot fired over my head. 'I thought I had been fired at, and I turned round to see the house from 'which the shot had come. I then recognised the barrack. At this time we 'were heavily stoned every step of the way, so I stopped the men at 'once, and got into the barrack. While we were getting into the 'barrack we were heavily stoned again, and a large number of my men 'were struck, and the barrack door is so narrow a one, and there was a 'good deal of confusion among the men getting in, and of course 'that delayed us a little more. The stones were coming in at 'us all the time from the right hand of the barrack, and also 'from the left hand of the barrack, and also from Dundee-street '—opposite or nearly opposite. As soon as I had got in I 'went into the day-room first, and there were a whole lot of men 'there. The stones were rattling against the shutters which had been 'shut in this room, and some of my men said, 'We will be killed like 'rats in a hole, sir.' Well, I went upstairs, and I should say there 'are two windows (upstairs)—a left-hand window and a right-hand 'window. At the left-hand window—there was a constable at the 'left-hand corner, and Mr. Grene at the right-hand corner, and Mr. 'M'Leod standing behind him. At the right-hand window there were 'two constables at the right-hand corner, and I think but one constable 'at the left-hand corner. As Mr. Grene was at the left-hand window, I 'went over to the right-hand window. Mr. Mulliner was also in the 'room. He was standing back from the two windows. Stones were 'coming in through the windows at the time and they hit the wall. I 'went over to the other window and watched. The men were firing. So 'after some little time I saw Mr. Grene fire, and I then took a rifle 'myself and I also fired. There were very few shots fired after I got 'in—I should say not more than eight or ten, or ten or twelve, perhaps. 'This must have been pretty close on nine o'clock, sir. I left the 'Riversdale School-house at, I should say, twenty-five minutes past 'eight o'clock, and it took me fully half-an-hour to get into the barrack."

Ryan,
4440—4449

Mulliner,
2192—2193

Sullivan,
2770—2783

97. It may now be convenient to direct your Excellency's attention to the evidence given by the Rev. Dr. Johnston, as to the circumstances under which, when standing some 250 yards west of the barrack, he was firmly convinced that he observed certain of the police, who (after Dist.-Insp. Grene had taken them all off the street) had come out from the barrack, deliberately fire in a westerly direction up the Shankhill-road. He states, "It was 'one two, three, four'—one, two, three, four'—one, 'two, three, four,' in that successive fusillade, four or five volleys being fired in rapid succession." We are satisfied that the Rev. Dr. Johnston may be quite accurate in the description of the firing here quoted, but we are fully convinced by the evidence, and without the smallest doubt or difficulty we report to your Excellency that no member of the R. I. Constabulary discharged a rifle from the street or from outside of the barrack after Dist.-Insp. Grene entered it, as already mentioned. Firing was at this time being conducted from the upper windows of the barrack, and we believe that the policemen whom the Rev. Dr. Johnston saw were some of the County Donegal men, at whom, on their approach, 13 or 14 shots had been fired by some person using a revolver at or near to a house at the corner of Agnes-street, and as these men necessarily took a little time to enter the narrow doorway of the already filled barrack, it is likely that the revolver firing was again carried on from the same point, which was in the exact line from which the Rev. Dr. Johnston saw the flashes momentarily make the figures of the police so distinctly visible.

98. We attach very great importance to this, for we feel that the erroneous impression then conveyed to this clergyman as to the conduct of the police must have proved the most serious of the many difficulties he had to encounter in his unceasing labours to promote peace, good-will, and respect for the law amongst this people, with and for whom he had spent forty-four years of his active life.

99. In the following subsequent passages of the Rev. Dr. Johnston's evidence we find ample justice done to the difficulties the constabulary had been contending with on this evening. He states, "On walking towards the police barracks I found O'Hare's 'public house was on fire. We happen to have a very valuable school property 'adjoining that house, and I felt of course interested in it. I went into Mr. O'Hare's 'house—I found the door open and the whole place empty. I walked up stairs—I found they had wrecked the place, looted the shop, and had thrown a large portion of 'the furniture out of the window; and they had actually fired the mattress of the bed, 'and the whole room was on fire. I went down stairs and I asked the crowd to help 'me to get some water to put the fire out; but not a soul of them would lift a leg or 'hand to get water. I went to look for the fire brigade, and meeting them coming up 'the Shankhill-road, I returned with them and saw the fire put out; and when it was 'put out I went into the yard and found about a dozen women and children looting the 'cellar. They had found their way to the cellar, had tapped the porter barrels, and 'drunk as much as their stomachs could contain, and, having done that, they were 'trying to make off with as much more. I had a good stick in my hand and I began 'to flail them with it, and continued doing so till I got them out of the cellar. I then 'got the fire brigade to put a large barrel or two so as to keep the cellar gates shut. 'When I got out I found all the whiskey and porter had been spilled along North 'Howard-street, and was blazing along the road." Again, in another part of his evidence, he said, "I wish to add that, in my opinion, the police were perfectly justified 'in firing in the first instance—I believe they were in peril of their lives, and were 'justified in firing in the first instance—but I believe they did wrong in firing 'subsequently."

100. It is necessary that we should also specially refer to the evidence of Mr. Lavins Ewart, J.P. This magistrate did not accompany the police when they left O'Hare's, but he was on the Shankhill-road, at a distance of about 140 yards west of the barrack, at the time when the police fired from the street in front of the barrack, and on the first discharge he was wounded in the leg by some of the backshot, which obliged him at once to take refuge in the nearest house. He did not allow this to incapacitate him, as he was evidently determined not to leave the locality whilst such an unsatisfactory state of matters continued. Mr. Lavins Ewart stated to us that he considered this firing was unnecessary—but this is the firing in the first instance which the Rev. Dr. Johnston recognises as being justified. Subsequently he returned to the barrack and he heard the intermittent firing being conducted from the upper windows, and in regard to the final close of this firing, we notice that he told us, "Afterwards there was an interval in which there 'was no firing, and I called Mr. McLeod's attention to it, and he sent up for Mr. Grene, 'the officer, who gave orders that the firing was to cease." We interpret this as having been an order that it was not to be resumed, for the interval indicates that the firing party themselves, before receiving the magistrate's message, had ceased, because no

Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6603—4618
6604.
6626.
Mulliner
2311.
Reath,
2434—2466
Sullivan,
2796.
Grene,
3007.
Ryan,
4497—4491
Sullivan,
2728—2739
Ryan,
4448.
4437—4491
4501—4505
4578—4591

Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6415.

6123.

Ewart
8433.

Rev. Dr.
Johnston
6221.

Ewart,
8433.

M'Leod,
2526.
Greene,
3228.

doubt they already could see that there was no sufficient necessity for continuing it—the rioters in the opposite streets having been by this time deterred from their reckless attempts to close on the barrack, and, as already explained, these were the only occasions necessitating the firing from the barrack (par. 95).

Beath,
2439—2446
2464.
Malliner,
2535—2544
2556.
M'Leod,
2515.
2599.
Ewart,
8433.

101. Having regard to Mr. Lavins Ewart's position, both as a county magistrate and as an influential citizen of Belfast, the opinions which he expressed in regard to the police firing demanded our careful attention; we have therefore given to them most painstaking and impartial consideration, and having done so, it is our duty to report to your Excellency that we are satisfied that, at the time of the firing by the police from the street in front of the barrack, Mr. Lavins Ewart could not see anything of the crowds which were then undoubtedly attacking both the police and the barrack—on the south from Dundee-street and Aberdeen-street, on the west from Beresford-street, and on the east from Agnes-street; and therefore he could not give reliable evidence on the merits of this firing. Mr. Lavins Ewart, however, received a strong impression at this time that the conduct of the police was unjustifiable, and we recognise the prejudice and overwhelming indignation he must have felt when, with this impression already formed, he beheld the lifeless body of Mary Jane M'Alister lying on the footway, and saw the noble boy, young Kyle, shot dead in his heroic effort to assist this mortally wounded woman. With every respect for Mr. Lavins Ewart, we firmly believe that few men indeed, so circumstanced, could be relied upon to form an impartial and unbiased opinion of the action or hearing of the police.

Greene,
3008—3112
Beath,
3234—3251
Sullivan,
2749
M'Leod,
2851.
Gordon,
5791.

102. On the arrival of Dist.-Insp. Sullivan with his 33 men, the police force in the Bowershill barrack was increased to 107, and a large proportion of these must have been baton men. We ascertained that a small door from the back yard of the Bowershill barrack opens into a long wide passage, about 60 feet by 16 feet, leading into Beresford-street, and that the Beresford-street end of this passage is closed by very substantial doors, which effectually shield it, both from observation and from missiles or stones. The police could have had the use of this passage and access through it to Beresford-street—and in fact it was thus utilised by the military on the following day. This spacious passage was admirably adapted for assembling and reorganizing the detachments, and it appears to have been a very unaccountable oversight that no attempt was made by any of the local police officers to turn it to good account.

Sullivan,
2652—2655

103. Some time after 9 P.M. Dist.-Insp. Sullivan offered to go out in order to take word to the Queen-street headquarter office, when Sergeant M'Gusty, of the Donegal force, and Constable Farrell, of the town force, volunteering to accompany him, they all three left on this errand. The following is Dist.-Insp. Sullivan's account:—"I told Sergeant M'Gusty to bring his rifle and to load it, and I took a revolver and put by my sword. The door was then opened and the three of us went into the street. And as soon as we appeared on the street and could see up and down, we saw that on the right-hand side of the barrack, down the street there was a large crowd of people. At the left-hand side there was a large crowd of people, and at Dundee-street there were also people. The three of us ran towards the left, a few yards, and we shouted out, 'Come on, men,' the intention being to lead the rioters to believe that there were more of them coming. They threw a volley of stones at us. We ran down Dundee-street, and the people in Dundee-street ran into their houses. We ran as hard as we could down Dundee-street, turned at right angles, and got clear away. I ran as hard as I could for a while, and then took a post car which I met and drove to Queen-street. When I got to Queen-street, I found a company of our men had come from the depot with Mr. Newland, Assistant Insp.-Gen., and they were drawn up in front of Queen-street. I went up to him and told him what had happened." Assistant Insp.-Gen. Newland having arrived at Queen-street office from Dublin at about 9 P.M., accompanied by County Insp. Ross, two district-inspectors and 150 men, had relieved Assistant Insp.-Gen. Cullen, and on receiving the report from Bowershill barrack he, Mr. Newland, at once directed a force of these men to go there, and Dist.-Insp. Sullivan to accompany them. Mr. M'Carthy, R.M., also followed immediately with a body of the Highland Light Infantry. On turning into the Shankill-road, Mr. M'Carthy, R.M., read the Riot Act under one of the street lamps, and was stoned whilst doing so. The military and the reserve body of police then marched on to the barrack, the crowd dispersed themselves, and the locality became quiet.

Cullen,
863—863.
Greene,
3007.
Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6615.
Sullivan,
2768.

Greene,
3007.

104. At about 10.45 P.M. all the fire-arms and pouches of the police force were examined by order of Mr. Ross, County Inspector, and a note was taken of the ammunition deficient; it was then ascertained that in all 193 rounds had been expended, and of this ammunition the county police were deficient 39 ball and 26 buckshot, and the town police 89 ball and 39 buckshot (Supplement B 1). At about midnight Dist.-Insp. Greene withdrew his force of police.

105. It was stated in evidence that no less than seven persons were shot dead in this neighbourhood. Of these it was proved that the girl M'Alister was shot as she came from Moscow-street on to the Shankhill-road, near to where Mr. Lavins Ewart had been hit and at a point where there was at the time no rioting. The boy Kyle was shot as he went to her assistance. The boy James McCornack was shot whilst standing at the counter of a public house at 162 Shankhill-road, and the servant girl Mary Reilly was shot whilst looking out of the window of her employer's house at a distance of about 180 yards from the barrack (Supplement B 2). A local surgeon, Dr. Lewers, mentioned that he personally attended to 6 ball wounds, 10 buckshot wounds, 10 scalp wounds, and 2 deaths (M'Alister and Kyle), making 22 cases under his treatment on this date.

106. We trust that we have now given a sufficiently full account of all the important circumstances brought under our notice in regard to the deplorable events that occurred at Bowershill on the 9th June.

107. On this evening, on the south side of the West District, a somewhat serious attack was made between 9 and 10 o'clock on the Albert-crescent barrack, and on this occasion Sergeant Carnahan, who was in charge with only four men at his disposal (including two sick), used these so effectively that he succeeded twice in dispersing a large mob of the lowest class of the anti-Home Rule or Protestant section, the police using their batons only. But the mob, after retiring to a distance, appear to have re-formed, and to have planned and carried out a more persistent attack on the barrack. The sergeant had telegraphed to the Queen-street headquarters for assistance, and he understood that a reinforcement was coming, but it did not arrive, as, in fact, it was intercepted and taken on to Bowershill.

108. Sergeant Carnahan, after striving, for the third time, to get the mastery of the mob, saw his men driven into the barrack; he however remained outside, and then, finding that the rioters appeared determined on wrecking this barrack, which was the only depot for stores and arms, and contained a considerable quantity of ammunition, he called for one of the constables to come out with his rifle and to load with buckshot. Sergeant Carnahan then gave this man an order to fire, but the first discharge had no effect, the mob merely shouting out "Fire away! &c.," a second constable was called out with his rifle and ordered to fire; this had no deterrent effect, but the sergeant then ordered a third shot to be fired without delay, and this at once dispersed the mob into the side streets. The firing ceased, the police returned their rifles, and Sergeant Carnahan patrolled the front street with his few men till 3 A.M., the rioters continuing to throw stones over the houses for a considerable time.

109. Whilst the bulk of the mob had been attacking the police barrack, some of the rioters were occupied in wrenching off the shutters and breaking the glass of a public house kept by a Roman Catholic or Home Ruler named McGarry, near hand in Albert-street. Our opinion is that the object of the attack may have been to confine the police in the barrack, in the hope that the crowd might then loot this spirit shop and obtain possession of the liquor, and if so the police completely frustrated their design.

23 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 48 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

110. *Thursday, 10th June.*—On this sad morning in the town of Belfast the events of the previous evening engrossed the attention of every class of the community, and it would have appeared to us strange indeed had they not done so. Two significant facts must necessarily have been present to the minds of all, viz. :—(1st) Fully 100 of the Royal Irish Constabulary had been retained by order in a police building, whilst hemmed in by a riotous mob of the townspeople, until relieved by a military force. (2nd) Consequent on the firing by these constabulary, at least seven persons were then lying dead within a few hundred yards of this police building, and it was well-known that many of the deceased, at the time they were thus hurried into eternity, were wholly innocent (either by act or intention) of the slightest offence against the law. On the one hand, whilst the large peaceable and order-loving bulk of the population appear to have been stirred with heart-felt indignation, and the local magistracy and more influential gentlemen, deeply regretting what had happened, were evidently stimulated to use every endeavour to guard against further disaster, so far as it seemed possible to do so without interfering with the executive authority assumed and evidently exercised at this time by the resident magistrates and constabulary officers; on the other hand, we fear that certain of the lawless and riotous residuum only saw a prospect of indulging with comparative impunity in continued excesses.

111. Mr. Thynne, R.M. (formerly a district inspector in Belfast), arrived on this morning, and 287 constabulary during the day, so that the additional force (magisterial

Rev. Dr. Thomson, 207
Gen. Sir Thomas
M.B.

Dr. Lewers, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118
McCarthy, 11118

Carnahan,
3018—3023

3224—3241

3078.

Constab.
Returns.

Thynne,
9317.
Constabulary
Returns.
Ed.,
8046—8048
In Mag.
Minute Book.
M'Leod,
5828
Despsey,
11414—
11416.
Ross, 8334.
Gen.
M. Moore,
8298—8630
Patterson,
12129—
12137.
Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

and constabulary) numbered 1 assistant inspector general, 5 resident magistrates, 1 county inspector, 16 district inspectors, and 839 other constabulary. During the afternoon the first meeting of the borough magistracy, held on account of these disturbances, assembled in the Town Hall, under the presidency of the Mayor, Sir Edward Harland. Major-General Montgomery-Moore, commanding the Belfast District, was present, and no less than 53 magistrates attended. We gather from the evidence that very general complaints were made by these gentlemen against the conduct of the resident magistrates in acting as they had done without consulting with the borough magisterial body, and blame was attributed to the mayor for not having called the borough magistrates together until this Thursday, although the peace of the town had been in a very critical state, and more or less seriously endangered since the previous Friday afternoon. Emphatic warnings were also given, expressing in good faith the fears entertained by certain well-informed gentlemen lest large masses of the people should seek vengeance on the police. The minutes of this meeting show that the attendance of the magistrates was convened by circular, issued by request of the Mayor on the same morning, and they record, *inter alia*, that the Rev. Dr. Johnston waited upon, and, by consent of the magistrates, addressed the meeting, when he gave it as his opinion that the leaders of the riots on the Shankhill-road on the previous evening were not resident in the district, but belonged to the very lowest scum of the town; that a strong feeling existed against the county police, who, in his opinion, should be withdrawn, or at least kept at or near their barracks; and that there should be three or four detachments of military with a few cavalry stationed at different points. He also suggested that the public-houses in the district should be closed. Mr. M'Carthy, R.M., mentioned that steps had already been taken, by Colonel Forbes and himself, in order to have the public-houses in the division closed at 5 o'clock this evening. Capt. L'Estrange, R.M., also explained that he had already withdrawn the county police from the Shankhill-road district, and that district was now in charge of the local force. In reply to further comments, the Mayor assured the meeting that not only had the county police been withdrawn from the district referred to, but it had been decided that they should not, except under very special circumstances, be allowed to return thereto.

112. The following resolution was passed:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting "that the county constabulary should not be used in the disturbed districts unless it "should become absolutely necessary, and that the local magistrate be directed to "assist the resident magistrates in maintaining the peace of the town; also that the "aid of the military having been called on, it be approved of. The following "magistrates were then appointed to take charge of certain districts in the borough as "undermentioned:—

THE BRICKFIELDS:	F. J. MACCARTHY, Esq., R.M.
	JOSEPH C. RUTHERFORD, Esq., R.M.
	R. W. GORDON, Esq.
	J. R. MULHOLLAND, Esq.
	RICHARD PATTERSON, Esq.
	JAMES ROSS, Esq.
SHANKHILL-ROAD:	CAPTAIN L'ESTRANGE, R.M.
	HENRY THYNNE, Esq., R.M.
	WILLIAM BELL, Esq.
	LAVIN EWAERT, Esq.
	SAMUEL LAWYER, Esq.
	WILLIAM MCCAMMOND, Esq.
DURNHAM-STREET:	J. S. M'LEOD, Esq., R.M.
	GARRETT NAGLE, Esq., R.M.
	F. D. WARD, Esq.
	WILLIAM S. BAIRD, Esq.
FALLS-ROAD:	ARTHUR HAMILL, Esq.

113. At an early stage of this meeting in the Town Hall, word came that a resident magistrate was wanted at Bowershill, and Captain L'Estrange at once went there. On his arrival he considered the position of affairs very critical, and he employed a carpenter to barricade the lower windows of the barrack to prepare for what he feared might happen in the evening. The people were in a state of dreadful excitement; numbers of them were passing in and out of the neighbouring houses to view the bodies of the dead;

a great many were under the influence of drink, and they seemed to have an idea that "the foreign police, as they called them," had been sent up from the South to murder them. Captain L'Estrange stated in evidence:—"I did my best to explain to them that this was all nonsense, and that, on the contrary, most of the police stationed in Tipperary came from the North of Ireland, and were just as loyal as themselves. I argued with them for some time as best I could, and I got great assistance from some of the respectable local shopkeepers, Mr. McKibbin, Mr. Pringle, and others."

L'Estrange,
9302, 9301.

114. Subsequently Mr. Rutherford, R.M., arrived with a company of infantry, and a force of 100 or 120 police were also brought up. (We believe these to have been town policemen.) The officer in charge of the military very wisely insisted upon withdrawing his men out of sight until some occasion should arise requiring them to act, and he took his company of the Highland Light Infantry through the side passage leading from Bowersford-street into the shed and the back yard of the barrack; this was done contrary to the expressed wish of the two resident magistrates, both of whom desired to have the soldiers kept drawn up in front of the barrack. During the afternoon both the Mayor, Sir Edward Harland, and Major-Gen. Montgomery-Moore visited the locality, and these gentlemen fully approved of the soldiers being thus disposed of, and kept off the street.

Rutherford,
8325.

Gordon,
5731.
Rutherford,
6515.
L'Estrange,
9301.

115. We quote the following from Major-Gen. Montgomery-Moore's evidence:—"I saw an enormous crowd—a very excited crowd—just about the barrack, which I suppose was to be numbered by thousands, and I met the Mayor there, Sir Edward Harland, and I had some conversation with him; and the people crowded around me, because, I suppose, they thought I was a magistrate. I was not in uniform, and they were in a very great state of excitement, and they asked me to come close and see the bodies of people who had been shot. I think as many as a couple of thousand people must have been crowded about me personally. I tried to reason with them, and pointed out that probably the men who fired had received some provocation. They spoke of some provocation, and I asked whether any stones were thrown at the police, and they admitted there were, but not sufficient to justify this firing. At all events they were very much excited, and the picket then came marching down through a numerous crowd, a crowd so large that if the picket had been called upon to act they could not have done so—they would have been overpowered. There were many thousands of people. I do not know whether it 'the picket,' was more than about 100 men. They were placed in Bowershill barrack, and I think it was anticipated that there would be some attack. There was a crowd, as I tell you, collected, and the police were in the barrack, and one or two men in the door, and the idea was that, if the attack was made, the military would have come round from the back and cleared the place in front. I remained an hour or so, and no attack was made. A few stones were thrown, and soon after that I left, but the picket remained there during the night." Again, when speaking of the feeling among the people at this period, Major-General Montgomery-Moore told us:—"There was a greater state of determination about them than I have seen since, and I must say there were respectable inhabitants very much against the police," and he explained it in this way:—"Well, my opinion was formed by the expressions used freely in the streets. For instance, the first day at Bowershill the people who spoke to me were all respectable people. I think they were 'well-to-do people,' and they expressed themselves about the police having shot their relations. One man said his sister was shot, and so on. I think it was impossible to doubt for a moment that there was a strong feeling against the police by respectable people."

Gen.
M. Moore,
5567.

5568.

5593.
5594.

116. Soon after 6 p.m. Mr. Samuel Lawther, J.P., who had been deputed by the borough magistrates to assist the authorities in preserving order on the Shankhill-road, arrived at Bowershill, where he found a force of 30 or 40 police, armed with rifles, standing at the corner of Agnes-street, and he described the people as being then in a state of frenzy, among them being some who were half mad with drink, and the dense crowds already present were rapidly increasing owing to the industrial population getting home from the shipbuilding yards, iron foundries, linen factories, and other places of employment. He at once perceived the inexpediency of retaining the police in force on the road, in fact it seemed to him and to many other local gentlemen that the police at this time had no danger to guard against except an attack on the barrack; and although whilst acting on the street they would be quite ineffective to resist an attack by the assembled multitude, yet it was evident that their presence under the then distressing circumstances rendered such an outrage or even worse crime only too probable. Later in the evening we regret to find that this view, as regards their inability to act effectively, was proved to have been correct. Mr. Lawther, J.P., went to Mr. Rutherford, R.M., and urged very strongly that he should withdraw the force of police from the corner of

Lawther,
7849.

L'Estrange,
9301.

Lawther, 7850—7857
 7857—7858
 Lawther, 7859.
 Thynne, 9217.
 Agnes-street, either into the barrack or farther down the road, but his advice was not adopted. He, however, exerted himself with some temporary success to induce the people at this point to move a little further up the roadway, and then, in company with the Rev. Dr. Johnston and Mr. McKibbin, he visited the houses of mourning and endeavoured with true sympathy and good counsel to prevail upon the crowds of visitors to leave. At about 8 P.M. Mr. Lawther, J.P., after consulting with Mr. Thynne, R.M., went round to the public-houses in the neighbourhood, and begged of the traders, in the interests of order, to close, and much to their credit they agreed to do so, and at once shut their houses. We believe that the police had not been able to serve the closing notice on the publicans in this and other disturbed parts of the town.

117. Mr. Thynne, R.M., had on his arrival in the morning been sent to the Queen's Island, but in the afternoon he attended the Borough Magistrates' meeting in the Town Hall, and when speaking of this he told us in his evidence—"And it was there stated 'that the Shankhill-road was in a very excited state, and there was a great deal of talking. I think you have the minutes of the proceedings at that meeting. At all events one of the arrangements come to was that none of the county police in the town should be used on that road: that was arrived at on the 10th June. The Mayor had made a personal request to me that I would go to the Shankhill-road that night, and I may mention to you, my lord, that I was formerly a police-officer in the town of Belfast, and that I had charge during that time of the Shankhill district. I went there, and I was associated with two officers and Mr. Rutherford. There was a very exasperated feeling on that road against the police all that afternoon, and, in fact, I was uneasy about the results of the night, and I felt there might be bloodshed and more riot; and as the crowds were increasing in number, the clergymen went among them and did their very best to quiet them."

118. As a matter of fact the two local clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Johnston and Rev. Samuel McComb, had been very actively assisted from an early hour by many well-known clergymen of the different Protestant and Presbyterian churches, consequent on an official request having been made to them that they would use their influence to aid in calming the people. The Venerable Archdeacon Seaver, the Revs. Dr. Hanna, Mr. Richard Irvine, Dr. Kane, Mr. Beatty, Mr. McKee, and Mr. Matthews, with others resident in the locality, moved in and out amongst the groups of people, exhorting them to disperse and go home.

119. We deem it proper to refer your Excellency to the Rev. Samuel McComb's evidence, who, from his personal knowledge, aided by 17 years' experience in the ministry, gave to us the following description of the feelings of the people:—"I wish to say, in connection with the Wednesday evening occurrence on the Shankhill-road, 'that the people are not so irrational as some people are disposed to believe. If the police had really shot rioters on the road they would have said nothing but that they had done their duty, and that the parties had got nothing more nor less than what they deserved; but the idea was that the police had injured innocent people, and that persons who had taken no part in the riots were riddled with bullets, and many persons otherwise injured who were perfectly innocent. There was a house at the corner of Northumberland-street and the Shankhill-road in which a woman and her daughter resided—respectable, quiet, and well-to-do people. A bullet passed through the drawing-room window and lodged in a cot in which two children were in the habit of sleeping, and had they been in bed they would have been killed. The place was riddled with buckshot. The house is situated' at the corner of Northumberland-street. 'This took place' on Wednesday evening, the 9th June. In Mr. Kirk's house a shot went through the window. Mrs. Kirk was sitting at it, and the bullet went right opposite where she was sitting, and lodged in the window-frame. This was also on the 9th June. 'The house' is at the corner of Aberdeen-street. Almost all the houses suffered there, from O'Hare's down to Gardiner's house, and were riddled with bullets. I merely narrate these facts for the purpose of showing you how it was that the people on the Shankhill-road were exasperated against the police."

120. At about 7 P.M. the crowd in front of the barrack having become very threatening, the Rev. Samuel McComb, in order to draw away the people, hit upon the expedient of holding a meeting in a large hall in a neighbouring street, and referring to this, he said:—"We succeeded in getting not less than 1,000 or 1,200 people, most of them stalwart, able men, into the hall. It was proposed, as I was a resident on the Shankhill-road, that I should take the chair, and accordingly I had the first opportunity of speaking. I said to the people that it would be the worst possible thing they could do to resort to stone-throwing; that I was afraid some of them were anxious, if possible, to have revenge against the police, but that that was the worst thing they could do. That if they would go quietly to their homes, and get their

"friends to do the same, I would pledge myself, and that all the other gentlemen present would pledge themselves, that we would call for an inquiry, and have the whole thing righted if possible. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Hanna, Dr. Kane, Mr. Beatty, and others, and at the conclusion we asked them to pledge themselves, and every man in the meeting pledged himself with uplifted hand to go home and use his best influence with others to go with him."

121. At about this time stone throwing was commenced at the barrack, and a stone knocked over Capt. L'Estrange, R.M., who was standing with a Head Constable at the front door; the police were at once drawn up in the passage inside the barrack, ready to repel any forcible entrance, and the door was closed. The military picket was brought out, and the stone throwing then ceased, one half of the picket was used to keep in check the crowds on the Shankhill-road, and the other half of the picket was sent to look after a smaller crowd in one of the by-streets. In neither case did the military meet with any resistance, in fact the populace at this date appear to have been somewhat demonstrative of their friendly regard for the military and their enmity to the county police; but had this small military force been obliged to adopt any serious active measures against such an excited multitude, we fear that all signs of this friendly distinction would have vanished. Mr. Thynne, R.M., recognising the imminent danger, set off instantly to the military barrack to personally requisition all the troops he could find; however, fully an hour and more elapsed before these reinforcements arrived.

122. When we reflect on the fatal and wide-spread consequences that might have resulted had occasion arisen in the interval to cause the use of rifles on this mass of our people, numbering 10,000 or 12,000 of all ages and sexes, we find it indeed difficult to express adequate recognition of the priceless service rendered, not only to the town of Belfast, but to our common country, by the clergy, who, assisted by Mr. Samuel Lawther, J.P., and others, during all this time of anxious suspense, formed a "living wall" between the excited crowds and the barrack, until the troops, both cavalry and infantry, arrived under the command of Colonel Woodhouse.

123. The Venerable Archdeacon Seaver, in describing the labours of himself and other clergy on this memorable evening, stated to us:—"While inducing the people to go away and leave, one of the persons who had been killed was carried past in a coffin. We feared that that sight would cause more disturbance and we followed to where the relatives of the dead person lived. We went into the house and talked with the family and endeavoured so far as we could to quiet them. When Dr. Johnston and myself got outside there was an excited crowd there. We exhorted them to go home quietly, and not allow their passions to be excited by anything that had taken place. While we were so engaged a diversion took place, and our congregation rushed past us and went down to Bowershill barrack. We followed them and found an inflamed and angry crowd gathered in face of the barrack. We found that a number of clergymen, as had been described, were on a form addressing the crowd, and we got up and took our part in the work. We addressed the crowd as well as we could for a considerable length of time. Dr. Kane and several other clergymen and myself were there, and we advised the people in the strongest possible way to restrain themselves and depart. We found the excitement still increasing, and I went with Mr. Lawther (the local magistrate who was then in charge) to the resident magistrate to entreat him to have the police who were in the barrack removed, because the anger of the crowd was not against persons of a different religious persuasion, but against the police. The gentlemen who were in charge there thought it would not be correct to withdraw the men. It would be contrary to precedent, usage, and law; and we then inquired the name of the person in authority in the town to whom we could apply, and so far as I can remember we could get no satisfactory answer to the question.

"Shortly after that the military came down, and the people quietly dispersed. It was then about 11 o'clock, and there was no disturbance; nothing occurred on the Shankhill-road that night. I believe we prevented the crowd from throwing themselves against Bowershill barrack. A number of persons in it ('the crowd') were semi-intoxicated, and were utterly unable to control themselves, and had it not been for the body of clergy who stood between them and the barrack I have no doubt they would have thrown themselves against the barrack, and slaughtered all the persons inside the barrack."

124. Mr. Thynne, R.M., explained that the cavalry on their arrival, without doing harm to any one, cleared away the crowd of 10,000 or 12,000 people, who cheered them and dispersed peaceably for the night.

125. In reference to the foregoing, we report to your Excellency our deep regret

L'Estrange
3801.
Gordon,
8781.
Loose,
5292-93.

Rutherford,
5325.
Thynne,
3217.
McCormack,
10426.

Rev. Dr
Johnston,
6645.

Lawther,
7860-7863

Ven. Chas.
Seaver, D.D.
9727.

Thynne,
3217.

that the gentlemen exercising authority over the police arrangements did not, when they became aware of the fatal results of the firing on the previous evening, at once determine to rely (if possible) wholly upon a strong military force of cavalry and infantry for the maintenance of order at Bowershill until the dead had been buried. Our opinion is that the police having been placed in a position where apparently by dire necessity they shot certain innocent persons, every conceivable means ought to have been exhausted on the following day before placing the police in a painful position, whereby they could not fail to wound the tenderest feelings of the distressed relatives and friends.

126. In the South District, at about 8.30 p.m., an evil disposed mob proceeded in the direction of Great Victoria-street, but they were met by Dist.-Insp. Bull with nine men, these being all he had available at the time. Dist.-Insp. Bull called upon the mob to disperse, and those in the rear branched off towards the Great Northern Railway Station, breaking the windows of Patrick Flanagan's public-house and stealing a few bottles of whisky; they then went by Hope-street and Bruce-street into the Dublin-road, where they broke Mrs. McKenna's public-house windows, but here Dist.-Insp. Bull charged with his small force and dispersed them.

127. A very serious disturbance arose also on this evening in the East District, where at 7.30 p.m., a mob of about 2,000 made a stone-throwing attack on a small force of 5 or 6 police on duty near Henry-street, and forced them to retire. About 100 then detached themselves from the mob and broke into a public house, off York-street, kept by a Roman Catholic (Mr. George McCloskey), who, seeing the commotion, had just then closed. The crowd then rapidly increased, and the place was wrecked and much of the liquor consumed.

128. On hearing of this riot in York-street Dist.-Insp. Townsend ordered there Head Constable Evans, of County Longford, with 25 of his men (these having arrived in Belfast at 5 p.m.), and Sergeant Montgomery of the town police was told to accompany them. On these police arriving on the scene the wrecking party left McCloskey's public house, but the mob continued to be very riotous. Subsequently Sergeant Gunn of the town police, with 8 other county men arrived, and at this time the police were being heavily stoned. Head Constable Evans and several of his men having been severely hit, and the violence of the mob increasing under the influence of drink and excitement, Mr. Evans ordered certain of the police (nearly all of whom were armed with rifles) to open fire with huckshot—27 rounds were fired—but this apparently had no effect. He sent Sergeant Montgomery for reinforcements, and then ordered ball cartridge to be used—12 rounds were fired—and this caused the stone-throwing to cease.

129. Mr. M'Leod, R.M., and Mr. John Workman, J.P., arrived, together with constabulary reinforcements of 90 men in different detachments, under Dist.-Insp. Lound, Mallett, and Tyacke. The latter officer with his men immediately cleared the back streets, and in Earl-street he met with two Roman Catholic clergymen, one of whom was bleeding from a wound on the head, and both appeared to have been very shamefully treated. Mr. Tyacke therefore sent a small police escort to see these two gentlemen safe homewards. Although the disturbance in York-street now ceased for a time the crowds did not disperse, and in about half an hour the resident magistrates, by the advice or with the full concurrence of Mr. Workman, J.P., instructed the whole of the constabulary (about 120 men) to be withdrawn. This was done with the idea that the people would then go home.

130. Shortly after the police had left, McCloskey's public house was set fire to in several places, and much property destroyed, for which £201 6s. 8d., compensation has since been awarded. The fire brigade and police were summoned, and these were engaged putting out the fire and coping with a disorderly mob until early in the morning.

18 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 15 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

181. Friday, 11th June.—On this day Mr. Hamilton, R.M., Mr. Eaton, R.M., 6 district-inspectors, and 290 constabulary arrived, thus the additional force (magisterial and constabulary) in Belfast was raised to 1 assistant inspector-general, 7 resident magistrates, 1 county inspector, 22 district inspectors, and 1,129 other constabulary. The course decided on by the magistrates, and apparently intended by them to have been carried out on the previous day, both in regard to withholding the county police from the Bowershill district and the early closing of the public houses, was fortunately on this date strictly adhered to. The military were posted at certain convenient points on the Shankill-road, and the excitement there was very much less than on the previous day.

132. The clergy and other local gentlemen were busily engaged prevailing upon the relatives of the dead and others to so arrange the funerals, which were to take place on

the morrow (Saturday), as to avoid all demonstration or cause for excitement. It apparently had been proposed to hold the funerals as usual late in the day—after working hours—and that members of the Orange institution and other sections of the anti-Home Rule party should turn out in great numbers; fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, and, if any such idea was entertained, it was wholly abandoned. The town throughout this day and night was described to us as quiet.

5 persons are shown in the returns as having been arrested for rioting during the twenty-four hours, and 3 members of the constabulary as having been more or less injured, but we infer from the evidence that these must have been cases in connection with the riots of the previous night.

133. Saturday, 12th June.—The funerals were conducted early in the day, and special arrangements had been made for employing the troops—both cavalry and infantry—to assist in preserving order along the line of route, but all was quiet. The conduct of the funeral parties appears to have been admirable, and we believe that everything was conducted with decorum. It is evident on this occasion that both the relatives and the whole anti-Home Rule party must have determined to do all in their power to bury their untimely dead in peace—in fact some of the funerals took place before the troops had gone out. The funerals were indeed in one sense great demonstrations, inasmuch as they were manifestations of moral force and right feeling.

134. There was a great deal of drunkenness observed in the street on this Saturday night, but no serious disorder.

The constabulary returns show that 2 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 3 constables were struck by stones.

135. On the 14th June, the town having continued quiet, some of the extra police were ordered home, and we find that on the 17th June fully 800 had left Belfast, and on the 22nd June they were all away. No further disturbance is reported to have occurred until 7th July, which was the day following the parliamentary election for the borough.

136. Here we would observe that in order to present an intelligible view of the practical working of the magisterial and police system, we have thought it necessary to fully detail the circumstances arising, and the action taken thereon, during one limited period of the disturbances—namely, from the 4th to the 10th June. We selected this period as we found that it afforded a clear insight into nearly all the matters upon which we are called upon to report; moreover, having regard to the fact that the clergy (acting at the time by official invitation), in company with certain magistrates and leading citizens, had pledged their word to the populace that all the fatal events of this sad week should be thoroughly investigated, we deemed it not only our duty but an imperative necessity, in the interests of the future peace of Belfast, that we should, under your Excellency's commission, redeem to the best of our ability this unauthorized but no less binding undertaking, given at a critical time by gentlemen whose influence may again, at any moment, be requisitioned to render a similar service to the State.

137. Now, however, having—and, as we trust, with accuracy and with some measure of entirety—fulfilled this obligation, we purpose furnishing to your Excellency an outline only of the general circumstances arising during the subsequent periods.

138. On the 28th June a meeting of the magistrates was held, having been convened by the Mayor to consider arrangements for the preservation of the peace at the approaching parliamentary election on 6th July, and also at the Orange demonstration on the 12th July. Fully 40 magistrates attended, and three important resolutions were passed, making provision for an extra draft of from 200 to 300 police being requisitioned for reserve duty at the parliamentary election, and also on the 12th July, and assigning certain named magistrates for duty at each of the 21 polling stations, and also to 17 localities for street duty on the 12th July. (Supplement D 1.)

139. On the 1st July Mr. Carr, having sufficiently recovered from his injuries, resumed duty as town inspector. On the following day candidates were nominated for the parliamentary divisions. On the 3rd July the extra draft of 250 constabulary arrived for reserve duty.

140. On Wednesday, 6th July, although each borough division was contested, the polling was carried out without any disturbance, and the political feeling at this time was so free of all narrow sectarian prejudice that in the midst of the election excitement, when two opposing parties had collected in Royal Avenue, one of the Protestant clergymen went into the Roman Catholic crowd, and with a few kindly words

Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
6792
Thynne,
9217.
L'Estrange,
9304—9306

Constab.
Returns.

L'Estrange,
9303.

9307
Ball,
1823.
Thynne,
9217.

Rev. Dr.
Johnston, 6792.
L'Estrange,
9304.
Constab.
Returns.

Constab.
Returns
Ball, 1823.

Lentham,
9301.
Rev. Charles
Carrut, S.D.,
919.
Rev. S.
McComb,
9301.

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book

Carr, 260
Constab.
Returns.
Callen, 930.

Hall, 1823.
Carr, 260.
Townsend,
1315.
Rev. R.
Irvine,
9304.

successfully exerted himself to keep order; as he stated in evidence, they cheered him and parted on very good terms.

Townsend,
1315—1316
1474—1489
Rev. J.
Tobin,
14453.
Bell,
1823—1829

141. *Wednesday, 7th July.*—On this day the excitement was very great owing to the elation of the Home Rulers and the disappointment of the anti-Home Rule party at the result of the election in West Belfast, in which division the Home Rule candidate defeated the former Conservative member. In the evening the Home Rule party signalled their victory by kindling bonfires, and their bands paraded the town, playing through those districts principally inhabited by their own party; but unfortunately one of their bands in Ballymacarrett refused to recognise this restriction, and either their playing, or the roughs accompanying them, caused offence to certain of the anti-Home Rule inhabitants in that district. Some of the riotous class seized on this incident as a pretext for retaliation, and coming out late in the evening with a Conservative flute band, they paraded through several localities, returning by Newtownards-road, where they ultimately threw stones and broke 8 panes of glass in St. Matthew's R.C. Chapel and 17 panes in the Presbytery. The police arrested one man in the act of throwing a stone at the chapel, but unfortunately, owing to the Catholic clergyman charitably declining to prosecute, the man could only be dealt with on a minor charge, and got off with a forty-shilling penalty.

Forbes,
4080.

Bell,
1829—1896

Constab.
Returns.

7 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 5 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

Forbes,
4081—4033

142. *Thursday, 8th July.*—On the evening of this day rioting occurred between the two political parties both in King-street and in Townsend-street, and in this latter locality both sides were engaged, when the resident magistrate, Col. Forbes, brought up a company of infantry. The Home Rule party then retired, but the others would have attempted to force their way with a band had not the soldiers fixed bayonets.

Constab.
Returns.

No person was arrested for rioting on this date; 2 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

Garfield,
5455.
Constab.
1717—1828.
1814.

143. *Monday, 12th July.*—There was no further disorder until this date, when early in the morning some of the Orange party, as usual on this anniversary, commenced to beat drums in their own localities, and after 4 A.M. certain of the Home Rule party appear to have come from the Falls-road and to have broken windows in the Shankhill district. This for a time caused some disturbance, but the police were able to disperse both parties.

Corr, 259.
Stokes,
6103

144. During the day the Orange institution held its annual demonstration, and fully 10,000 persons took part in the procession through the streets of Belfast. It is mentioned that a few stones were thrown, but there was no disturbance in the town. Dist.-Insp. Townsend stated in evidence that he had never known such a quiet 12th July.

Constab.
Returns.

5 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 1 member of the constabulary received a stroke on the left hand.

Corr, 270
Townsend,
1317.

145. *Tuesday, 13th July.*—On this date special police arrangements were made consequent on a ceremonial to be held in the afternoon at the laying of the foundation stone of an Orange hall at Ballinasleigh, a suburb on the south-side of Belfast.

Wagon, 2238.
Walker
1507—1507
Townsend,
1317.

146. At about 2.30 P.M. when a band was proceeding through Grosvenor-road on its way to this ceremonial, a crowd of the Home Rule party, who had assembled near hand in McDonnell-street, made an attack on the band, which with its followers immediately retaliated. A fearful stone-throwing encounter occurred, causing great damage to property and window-glass before the arrival of the police in force separated the parties.

Corr,
563—378.

Stacey,
1239—
12414.

147. Early in the evening it would seem that the Home Rule party (probably reckoning on large numbers of their opponents being absent at Ballinasleigh) made a raid into Northumberland-street and other localities leading down from the Shankhill-road. Very serious rioting occurred, and both mounted and foot police, acting under two resident magistrates, had great difficulty in separating the parties and driving them back to their respective localities on the Shankhill-road and Falls-road. During this time a small party of police, armed with rifles, and in charge of Dist.-Insp. McClelland of King's County, were operating at the corner of Percy-street, and being very heavily stoned by members of the anti-Home Rule party, this officer gave an order to fire one round, which had no effect, and these policemen then fired several shots and dispersed the crowd.

Stokes,
6103.

Townsend,
1317.

148. We believe this to have been the first mention of fire-arms having been used on this day. It may be noticed that in the return of deaths (Supplement B 2) two young men of the populace are recorded as killed by gun-shot wounds received at the Brickfields on the 13th July, but we have no information as to the time at which they were shot. At 7.30 p.m. Town-Inspector Carr arrived with reinforcements. He found the mounted police in extended order with their swords drawn, and supported by a number of foot police, keeping back the Home Rulers on to the Falls-road. He sent some haten men to prevent this party from going into the Brickfields, but the constables were driven off the ground by stones. Later on the Riot Act was read by Colonel Forbes, R.M., and four revolver shots were fired from out of the anti-Home Rule crowd in the direction of the town inspector, and a spent bullet from one of these struck a mounted constable on the instep. The police, by order of the resident magistrate, returned this fire with four rounds of buckshot. Soon afterwards 50 cavalry and 350 infantry arrived on the Brickfields, and the opposing crowds were then kept separate, and the ground cleared without difficulty.

Charr, 282.

284.
Forbes,
4034—4035
Constab
Rotarion
Carr,
284, 283.

149. Shortly after midnight either one or two armed persons, near to the coffee stand opposite the Model School on the Falls-road close to the Brickfields, fired two shots, mortally wounding Head Constable Gardiner, who died on the same morning, and seriously wounding Acting Sergeant Brady in the hip. The assassins then apparently endeavoured to make their escape past the military, and here a third shot was fired, which killed Private Hughes of the West Surrey Regiment. Two men, a father and son, were arrested, and are now returned for trial in relation to these murders.

Charr,
284—285,
Forbes,
4034—4035.

284, 283.

150. In several other districts of the town there was serious rioting carried on by the contending political parties. In Durham-street the police kept the mob from coming into actual collision, but they had frequently to drive back one or other of them. In Killan-street Sergeant McGee received a bullet wound in the right shoulder, and several pellets. Dist.-Insp. Bull brought up reinforcements to this neighbourhood, and after some time dispersed a large mob of the anti-Home Rule party who had assembled in Durham-street, opposite Christ Church.

284, 283.
Bull, 1870.
1871.

151. Six rifle bullets were afterwards fired at this body of police from the top of Boyne Bridge, and there is little doubt that these were fired by some of the anti-Home Rulers.

1871—1875

152. A serious riot also occurred in Grosvenor-road, and the police were very severely stoned whilst endeavouring to restore order and prevent the wrecking of property. Colonel Miller, R.M., and Dist.-Insp. Scott succeeded in dispersing the Home Rule mob, but the other party held their ground until the police, by order, fired three shots at short intervals. One revolver shot was discharged in answer from out of the crowd, which then dispersed.

Scott, 2843.

Miller, 2448.

153. Two shots are also reported to have been fired at the police on duty in Northumberland-street from a corner of one of the lateral streets frequented by the anti-Home Rule party. Thirty constables were sent up under Dist.-Insp. Townsend, but they discovered nothing except the remains of the gun wadding which had been used. There was no further firing except that one of this police detachment discharged his rifle in the air, apparently by accident.

Townsend,
1817.

154. Amongst other damage to property, McGlade's public house at the corner of Camberland-street was attacked three times during the evening, and each time the anti-Home Rule wrecking party was driven away by military and police, but ultimately the house was wholly wrecked and looted.

Shakins, 6103
Gardiner,
2802.

155. During the June disturbances there were a few isolated instances of the discharge of pistol shots by the people, but on this evening, Tuesday, 13th July, it will be observed that at least on four occasions (including the double murder) fire-arms were used against the police, and in every case apparently by sympathisers with the anti-Home Rule party. The aggressive conduct also of the riotous section of the Home Rule party was more marked than before, and although the Catholic clergy were as active as ever in endeavouring to restrain their people, their efforts were not attended with the usual success. Our attention was directed to a mendacious paragraph which had appeared in one of the Nationalist papers on this morning, to the effect that the Orange party contemplated wrecking St. Peter's R.C. Chapel, an edifice which, from its architectural beauty (even apart from its sacred character), is believed to be an object of just pride to the whole Roman Catholic population—and it was suggested that this paragraph, together with the invitation caused by the Orange demonstration accounted in some degree for the bitter feeling manifested by the Home Rulers.

Cooper,
18423.
13479.
Scott,
4893—4908
Rev. Dr
Hewson,
2070

19 persons were arrested for rioting on this date; 3 members of the constabulary were injured by fire-arms (including 1 murdered and 2 wounded); 50 of the constabulary were otherwise more or less injured, and Private Hughes of the West Surrey Regiment was murdered.

Constab
Rotarion.

Callen, 918. 156. *Wednesday, 14th July.*—On Wednesday, 14th July, Deputy Insp.-Gen. Faanning arrived from Dublin, and took charge of the town police force. The military were quartered at the Model School near the Brickfields, and retained there day and night for some little time.

Stokes, 4108. 157. A special meeting of the magistrates was convened by the Mayor, which Mr. McCarthy, R.M., and 31 borough magistrates attended. Arrangements were made for assigning a certain quota of the borough magistrates to each district to co-operate with the resident magistrates. The Mayor also on this date issued a proclamation, which was posted throughout the borough, warning all peaceable subjects to avoid assembling on the streets, and inviting them to assist the authorities in the preservation of order (Supplement D 2).

158. In the evening there was considerable excitement both in the Shankhill and the Falls districts. In the latter, however, the R.C. clergyman, Rev. Mr. Magee, kept the people well in check. An exciting incident arose from some mischievous persons exploding a fog signal on the tramway rail, which caused the Home Rule party to imagine that they had been fired at from the tram car.

159. A serious riot afterwards occurred in Conway-street, leading up from the Falls-road. Both parties were engaged in it, and a force of 40 constabulary, under Dist.-Insp. Bull, accompanied by Mr. Gardiner, R.M., were severely stoned, one of the men having his frontal bone broken. Whilst engaged with these crowds near Ashmore-street, Sergeant Mooney of the town force was fired at from close to King's public-house. Mr. Bull dispersed the crowds, but there was a great deal of excitement up till midnight. It is satisfactory to find, from the evidence of Sergeant Mooney, that in his efforts to preserve order in Conway-street he was successfully aided by at least six of the Roman Catholic residents of various occupations.

5 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 3 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

160. After this date all continued quiet, and from the 14th to the 30th July we find by the constabulary returns that not a single person was arrested for rioting, which in itself is conclusive evidence of the then peaceable condition of this populous town, and bears strong testimony to the good effect of the Mayor's proclamation (par. 157).

161. On Monday, 26th July, His Excellency the late Lord Lieutenant issued a warrant to three of our number to inquire and report as to the riots and disturbances which had occurred in the town of Belfast during the months of June and July, and other matters connected therewith.

162. On or before the 23rd July large drafts of the extra police had left, and on the 27th July the remainder were sent home. The deputy inspector general returned to Dublin on the 26th July.

163. Here it is convenient to state that during each summer a number of school *fetes* are held, and it is the practice for the children to march from their schools to one or other of the railway stations from whence they are to start, and on their return in the evening to march in a similar manner homewards. These excursions are usually accompanied by bands, while the children carry banners, bearing no political party emblems, but in some instances inscribed with texts of Scripture. Certain of these processions on the return journey assume very large proportions, especially on a Saturday, when the parents and friends of the youngsters, having got home from work early in the afternoon, naturally make a point of meeting them. It appears that in certain localities on the line of march large hostile crowds frequently gather, who seem to view these processions as either political or sectarian demonstrations, and on different occasions this has resulted in more or less stone-throwing. We have little doubt that the clergy and others take a proper pride in the number of children attending their respective schools, and this may to a certain extent engender a spirit of rivalry; but having regard to the liberal-minded and enlightened action taken on all occasions by the parochial Catholic clergy, we find it exceedingly difficult to account for the contemptible bigotry and prejudice manifested by the hostility which certain of the Roman Catholic population show to these children's holiday excursions, unless indeed this sectarian feeling is designedly fostered by others for some evil purpose. The school excursions are as a rule held annually in June, but this year, owing apparently to the sad circumstances of that month, and to the excitement subsequently arising, consequent on the parliamentary elections, they had been postponed until the 31st July.

164. *Saturday, 31st July.*—Upon the 31st July there were three or more excursions from Belfast of children and teachers of the various Protestant schools going for a holiday trip into the country. We find that one of the clergy, Dr. Hanna, in

regard to the very large excursion from the schools in which he is interested, gave an undertaking to the authorities that, so far as these were concerned, there should be no procession with banners or bands, either going out or returning home. The authorities appear to have attached an undue value to this restriction, and in our opinion did not make sufficient allowance for the fact that this unusual silencing of the accustomed music would be well calculated to bring about disorganisation, if not disturbance, and might be counted upon with some certainty as likely to furnish the more dangerous class with a plausible pretext for creating disorder. Here, as in other instances, we fear that the measures adopted for the preservation of the peace (owing to the want of confidence they showed in the people) were only too well calculated to wound the susceptibilities and alienate the support of the well-disposed among all parties, whilst they obviously fell far short of what was necessary to curb the excesses of the wicked and lawless.

165. In the evening, on the return of the different school excursions, one of the first to arrive was an excursion from the school of the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, Presbyterian Church, Crumlin-road. This was under no restriction as to bands and banners; the procession marched with both through Donegall-street, past Carrick-hill, and there was apparently no excitement caused thereby.

166. Shortly afterwards the Rev. Dr. Hanna's numerous excursion arrived at the County Down station; he was himself in their company, and waited at the station until he had seen the various sections disperse on their different routes homewards, having with them neither bands nor banners; Dr. Hanna then followed up Donegall-street on a tram car. It appears that some of the musicians who had accompanied the excursion in order to furnish music during the *fiés* were returning on cars, when a large crowd of roughs stopped them at a short distance from the station, and having pulled them down, these roughs insisted upon their playing some 40 or 50 of the children through the town. This they did, and we think probably without any unwillingness.

167. When marching through Donegall-street, on arriving opposite Carrick-hill, this band and their followers found a hostile crowd assembled in that Home Rule quarter. Stone-throwing occurred between both parties, and the few police drawn across Carrick-hill failed to keep back the Home Rulers, who forced their way through and got into collision with the roughs accompanying this extemporized school procession. Colonel Forbes, R.M., was somewhat severely injured by stones whilst exerting himself to restore order with the aid of a reserve force, which he had asked Dist-Insp. Townsend to bring up from Donegall-street barracks. During this disturbance several panes of glass were broken in Mr. Kiernan's public house at the corner of Carrick-hill.

168. Some time later in the evening another so-called anti-Home Rule band, accompanied by a mob, played up to the same point, and halting opposite to Carrick-hill made a very defiant demonstration, and persisted in playing there until Sergeant Carey ordered his constables to baton them out of it, which they did without difficulty.

169. From this time intermittent rioting being very general, especially on Old Lodge-road, North Boundary-street, and Wall-street, Dist-Insp. Townsend was very active with a party of 25 baton men, and succeeded in breaking up and dispersing the mob at different points; but his men having arrested a prisoner at McKenna's public house near North Boundary-street, the stone-throwing became very severe, and this officer received serious injury over the eye, which incapacitated him for five days, and he did not again resume duty in the town.

170. Later in the evening an attack was made on a public house kept by a Roman Catholic or Home Ruler named Riordan at the corner of North Boundary-street, off the Old Lodge-road. Mr. McCarthy, R.M., went up there, taking with him the only 5 constables who were then in Donegall-street barracks, telling them to bring their rifles (up to this time no rifles had been carried by the police on this day). The mob wrecked Riordan's public house, and 3 of the constables eventually fired on the crowd by order of Mr. McCarthy, R.M. This firing was first by single shots and afterwards by volleys, and the result was that the house was relieved.

171. Town Inspector Carr then came up with reinforcements, and easing the state of matters he sent 20 men to the nearest constabulary barracks to procure rifles. On their return, hearing that a very extensive spirit shop on the Shankhill-road, belonging to a R.C. Home Ruler named McGlade, was being wrecked, he forced his way down there with 40 men and drove back the rioters. A pocket of infantry came up shortly afterwards and co-operated with the police. The spirit shop had been considerably wrecked and looted, in fact Town Inspector Carr spoke of being ankle deep in liquor in certain parts of the house. The mob continued stone-throwing; and subsequently, after consultation with Colonel Forbes, R.M., Town Inspector Carr ordered two rounds of buckshot to be fired, which caused the crowd to retire. The

Carr,
291—425.
Callen, 919.
Townsend,
1318.

Townsend,
1318.
Hanna,
9436.

9434.

Townsend,
1318.
Bell, 1879.

Hastings,
8906.
Forbes,
4046.
Hastings,
8908.

Carey,
15485

Hastings,
8905.
Townsend,
1318.

McCarthy,
4246—4388
Riordan,
14043—
14047.
Hastings,
8960—8994
Carr, 294.

294.

295.

297.

Chancellor, 2612. constabulary made 28 arrests during this disturbance. Major Chancellor, who was acting as a military magistrate, was sent to take charge of the troops at one period on this evening. On his arrival he found a struggle going on, and several of the officers were struck with stones. After about 20 minutes he spoke to the people, and told them that several of the soldiers and officers had been struck, and Major Chancellor stated to us that as soon as the crowd learnt this they ceased stone-throwing. The police and military remained guarding M'Glade's public house till 1.30 A.M. The return of deaths shows one lad, a message boy named William Knox, aged 13, as having been killed by a gun-shot wound received on the Shankhill-road during this day (Supplement B 2).

Carr, 297. 172. The constabulary returns record the arrival of an extra draft of 1 district inspector and 50 men from County Antrim.

Constab. Returns. 43 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 44 members of the constabulary were more or less seriously injured.

Barry, 4934-4935. 173. Sunday, 1st August.—Throughout the afternoon crowds gathered round M'Glade's public house, which had been wrecked on the previous night, threatening and occasionally stoning the constabulary guard, consisting of 10 men under Sergeant Barry (all armed with rifles), who were protecting this house. At about 9 o'clock the mob in this locality turned out the street lamps. The stone-throwing then became more serious, and Constable Kennedy was knocked down insensible by a stone which cut through his helmet.

4936. 174. Sergeant Barry now ordered his men to load with buckshot, and shouted to the mob that he was going to fire. The stone-throwing being continued, Sergeant Barry ordered one man to fire a round of buckshot on the upper side of the Shankhill-road, and another to fire one round in the Petershill direction. They did so, and the mob withdrew from this locality towards Petershill, where they attacked another public-house kept by a R.O. Home Ruler named Daly, and drove away the 6 constabulary who were on duty to guard it.

4937. 175. Dist.-Insp. Bull and 40 constables (one-half armed with rifles) had at this time been engaged separating two hostile crowds who were rioting in Park-street and Wall-street. The R.C. Home Rule party retired to Carrick-hill, but the anti-Home Rulers persistently stoned the police, who, having been reinforced by a picket of infantry in charge of Mr. McCarthy, R.M., charged this crowd through the side-streets and eventually dispersed them.

1888, 1889. 176. Dist.-Insp. Bull then took his party to the relief of Daly's public house, and being heavily stoned by the mob, he ordered 3 of his men to load with ball cartridge and to fire separately at certain of the more prominent rioters. It is believed that on this occasion the police firing was accurate, and two of the men aimed at were hit; the mob then dispersed into the Shankhill-road. The Mayor, Sir Edward Harland, and the Town Clerk are said to have been stoned on this evening as they drove up the Shankhill-road.

1890-1893. 1891. 1890. 1896. 1896. Some few stones were afterwards thrown with great violence into the Bowershill barrack, breaking through the shutter of one window.

1896. 177. Another public house, kept by a R.C. Home Ruler named Hassan, was also wrecked on this night in Agnes-street, which leads into the Shankhill-road close to the Bowershill barrack. When the police arrived there they found that the place was completely gutted, and the mob had not only robbed the house, but had, as usual, wholly wasted the stock and wantonly damaged the property.

Constab. Returns. No person was arrested for rioting on this date; 10 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

Forbes, 698. 178. Monday, 2nd August.—On this day the St. Joseph's Catholic School excursion went into the country, and returned at about 7.30 P.M. by the Northern Counties' Railway. Very extensive police and military precautions were taken on this evening. The town inspector speaks of 300 constabulary and a mixed military force of 500 cavalry and infantry having been posted to await the return of this excursion at the critical points in York-street, which is a main thoroughfare leading up from this railway station. Colonel Forbes, R.M., referring to this, stated in his evidence that he requisitioned 50 cavalry and 50 infantry for the Northern Counties' Railway Station, the same number for Frederick-street, the same number for Great George-street, and 100 infantry for Petershill.

Cham, 4011-4088. 179. The excursionists were unaccompanied by either bands or banners, and made no attempt to form a procession. As they drove off in cars from the railway station a stone was thrown and cut the lip of a boy who was seated in one of the cars with two girls. General rioting and hand-to-hand encounters ensued, and although supported by these strong military forces, the police arrangements proved quite ineffective—either to

saeguard the excursionists, to protect property, or to maintain order. Very serious rioting is said to have been carried on at this spot for two hours. A Catholic Home Rule mob appear to have wrecked the public-house kept by Mr. Sherman in Little George-street, and the inhabitants of this locality came out of their houses, and, in retaliation, wrecked a public-house in the same street kept by Mr. McKenna, a R.C. Home Ruler. The greater part of the excursionists had passed by Great George-street in cars, when Sergeant Clara, who was on duty at the corner of Great George-street and York-street with three men (2 riflemen and 1 batonman), observed a serious encounter between the followers of the excursion and an opposition crowd. Heavy stone-throwing was carried on, and the mob surged into the side streets, and some of them directed their attacks on these few police. The sergeant gave the order to load with buckshot, and warned the people that, if they did not desert from stone-throwing, he would fire, and subsequently three charges of buckshot were fired by this sergeant and one of the constables. At the third shot a party of military charged past, and the mob dispersed up the side streets. A young lad, Edward Black, a mechanic, aged 17 years, was killed by a buckshot wound received in York-street on this occasion. (Supplement B 2.)

3 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 4 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

180. Tuesday, 3rd August.—On Tuesday, 3rd August, Assist.-Insp. General Colomb arrived and took charge of the town police force, which were reinforced on this day by the arrival of extra drafts of 500 men from various northern counties.

4 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 3 members of the constabulary were more or less seriously injured.

181. We note that during the three weeks from the 14th July to the 3rd August, both dates inclusive, there is no mention of a fire-arm having been discharged by any of the people.

182. Wednesday, 4th August.—On Wednesday, 4th August, further extra drafts of 474 constabulary arrived to augment the town police force.

183. There was an excursion into the country of the Westburn Presbyterian Church Schools, and they were accompanied by two bands. On their return, after leaving the children at the schools, which are situated in Ballymacarrett, these bands played through a few of the neighbouring streets, and were accompanied by a large and very disorderly crowd. Dist.-Insp. Ball was on duty with some police at the corner of St. Matthew's R.C. Chapel, when a brick was thrown at his men from out of a R.C. Home Rule crowd assembled at this point, but it fell short and struck one of the same crowd on the head, and so injured him that he had to be removed to the hospital. This crowd was then dispersed, but fresh disorder shortly arose, accompanied by stone-throwing at the police, and the Ballymacarrett district was in a disturbed state until midnight.

184. Early on this evening the police on duty in the Shankill-road near Bownshill barrack were attacked by some of the anti-Home Rule party, and on a telegram reporting this being received at the headquarters, Mr. Keogh, R.M., proceeded to Bownshill with a force of military and police from the Model School. Soon after their arrival there they were savagely attacked by a crowd with stones, iron nuts, and bolts. Mr. Keogh, R.M., then ordered two constables to fire at one of the ringleaders, which they did, and as the mob came on again he ordered four or six more shots to be fired, after which the mob turned and dispersed.

185. The locality was then quiet for some time, but subsequently Mr. Keogh, R.M., seeing a large crowd again collected on the Shankill-road, went forward with Major Broderick and spoke to the people, warning them against further rioting. He then read the Riot Act, and as he finished this he received a very severe cut on the head from some person standing behind, which caused him to lose a quantity of blood. Shortly afterwards this crowd made a violent attack on some of the constabulary under the command of Dist.-Insp. Allan Smyth, throwing stones, nuts, screws, and discharging small missiles from catapults. Dist.-Insp. Smyth suppressed these rioters by firing at them for some time. Mr. Keogh, R.M., speaks of having heard one shot fired from a revolver after the police firing had ceased. Cavalry then arrived under the charge of another resident magistrate, and these cleared the streets. Mr. Keogh left under a cavalry escort to have his wound dressed. Dr. Lowers, a Shankill-road practitioner, already referred to, stated that he attended to one ball, two buckshot, and six scalp wounds on this date.

Sherman,
1844, in 209,
1210.

Page, 1216.

Clara,
1844-1850.

5017.

Forbes,
4061.

Constab.
Returns.

O'Brien, 526.

Constab.
Returns.
Constab.
Returns.

Constab.
Returns.

Ball, 1216.

1919-1921

1922, 1923.

Keogh,
6033.

6361.

6362-6366

6365.

McComb,
9377.
Broderick,
6070.

Keogh,
6256.

6367.

Lowers,

10219-10220.

186. In Durham-street there was a serious encounter between the two political parties, and Colonel Miller, R.M., assisted by the Catholic clergy, prevailed upon the R.C. Home Rule mob to leave, and then, whilst engaged dispersing the anti-Home Rulers, who were rioting and stone-throwing, this magistrate was knocked down by the blow of a stone, which seriously injured his eye and incapacitated him for some time, confining him to a dark room for five days.

Miller,
6450—6452
6498.

Constab.
Returns.

6 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 15 members of the constabulary were more or less seriously injured.

Constab.
Returns.

187. Thursday, 5th August.—On Thursday, 5th August, 37 additional constabulary arrived to strengthen the town police force.

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

188. A meeting of the borough magistrates was held, their attendance having been requested by the Mayor in order that they might consider what course should be adopted by them in reference to the commission of inquiry which was to open in Belfast on this date. 28 borough magistrates attended, under the presidency of the Mayor, Sir Edward Harland. The town clerk brought word to this meeting that "the divisional magistrate, Assistant Insp.-Gen. Cullen, had applied for an adjournment of the commission upon "the ground that serious riots are daily and nightly occurring in the town, causing very "great excitement, and rendering it absolutely impossible that officials can be withdrawn "from their present duties to give evidence to the commission," and that the commissioners had accordingly adjourned the inquiry *sine die*. The magistrates then resolved to adjourn in like manner the consideration of the question referred to.

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

189. It was also unanimously agreed that the Mayor should convene a full meeting of the magistrates for the following day, Friday, 6th August, at noon, to take into consideration the present state of the town, with the view of making arrangements for the restoration of order; but this was subsequently postponed to Saturday, 7th August, in consequence of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, having telegraphed asking the Mayor to meet him in Dublin on Friday in reference to the same matters.

Sir Edw.
Harland,
7555.

Bull,
1923—1925

190. In the evening a strong force was sent to Ballymacarrett, as matters there had assumed a threatening appearance. A resident magistrate, accompanied by Mr. John Browne, J.P., with a force of 45 constabulary, were posted near St. Matthew's R.C. Chapel, where a very noisy crowd had congregated. Mr. Browne, J.P., exerted himself to keep these people quiet, and no acts of violence were committed at this point. The mob subsequently left this neighbourhood and proceeded out to Conswater; here they totally wrecked and looted the spirit and grocery shop kept by a R.C. Home Ruler, Mr. Francis Gallagher, whose family were living on the premises, and had to make their escape over a wall into a neighbouring house. This mob was dispersed by a troop of cavalry under a resident magistrate, and 10 constables under Dist.-Insp. Bull. A reinforcement of 30 County Dublin constabulary arrived under Dist.-Insp. Smyth, and subsequently the cavalry left. The police were then badly stoned from the side streets, and especially from a place called Club-row, which is off the Newtownards-road. The police charged several times at this point, and arrested one prisoner; shortly after this a gun loaded with pellets or shot was fired out of Club-row in the direction of the police, but without injuring anyone. At about 1 A.M. the disturbances ceased.

1925.

1929.

1926.

1927.

Stokes,
6109.
Walsh,
9381.
Stokes,
6105.

191. On this afternoon small detachments of police were posted on the Shankhill-road to protect the wrecked premises of various public houses, including M'Glade's, Daly's, and M'Kennan's. Military pickets were also on duty, in charge of resident magistrates, to support the police. In the evening, the Queen's Island workmen, as they returned home, stoned the police when passing M'Glade's public house, and the military picket under Captain Stokes, R.M., was moved up for their protection, but was soon afterwards withdrawn to protect another party of police coming up from Divis street, who were being stoned. On the appearance of the military the mob ran off and dispersed, and Captain Stokes, R.M., then brought the picket back to M'Glade's, where he discovered that the small party of police stationed there had been driven off during his absence and badly stoned. There was great excitement, and two or three stones hit the military picket. Major-General Montgomery-Moore came up, and Captain Stokes, R.M., having consulted with him, they both concluded that it was of no use to keep the police there as a guard. Another military picket was then sent for, and under their escort the police were marched away, Captain Stokes, R.M., remaining in charge with the military. Captain Walsh, R.M., who was stationed at Petershill, gave evidence that on this night a party of constabulary were being stoned from Boundary-street, when a man came round the corner and fired point blank at them, but without effect.

Walsh,
9381.

Constab.
Returns.

5 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 5 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

192. *Friday, 6th August*.—It is our duty to direct your Excellency's attention to the fact that both on this, and on the previous day, there were fully 1050 additional constabulary in the town of Belfast, and that, after making full allowance for numbers ineffective, and for those incapacitated by sickness or injury, there must have been from 1400 to 1500 police available for duty.

193. During the disturbed periods, up to the 7th August, the so-called resident magistrates and the chief officer of constabulary had been in the habit of meeting each day and consulting together as to the arrangements necessary for the preservation of order. The Mayor was himself sometimes present, but no powers appear to have been remitted to this consulting magisterial body, nor were any formal notices issued, and we have no record of the proceedings, yet the business transacted and the powers exercised were of the utmost importance. These gentlemen, most of them strangers to the town, did not merely arrange their own personal duties, but practically they seem to have disposed of the whole of the military and police forces, and the authority collectively assumed and exercised by them was evidently as absolute as it was irresponsible.

194. The Mayor, as above stated, was occasionally present at these irregular meetings but none of the other borough magistrates attended, and the evidence does not indicate that they were afforded any opportunity of doing so.

195. At the meeting on this morning it appears that Major-General Montgomery-Moore attended and occupied the chair, and Assistant Insp.-Gen. Colomb also attended. Two of the resident magistrates, Captain Stokes and Mr. Hamilton, who were doing duty on the Shankhill-road, urged the inexpediency of maintaining small parties of police there in opposition to the determined hostility manifested by the inhabitants. As a result of the discussion that followed, this meeting came to the conclusion that it was inadvisable to maintain the constabulary on that road, and although the town inspector, Mr. Carr, and also the divisional magistrate, Assistant Insp.-Gen. Callen, strongly dissented, we find that, as a fact, the police were withdrawn on this date.

196. The use of the police on the Shankhill-road on this afternoon, 6th August, was at first restricted to guarding certain wrecked public houses, and then early in the evening they were entirely withdrawn; thus this locality was (by the action of the resident magistrates) deprived for a lengthened period of all police watching and protection. Strong pickets of military—cavalry and infantry—were posted to guard the Shankhill-road during the absence of the police forces, and we may here state that the judgment and care exercised by the military in the discharge of this exceptional duty was very marked and generally appreciated.

197. In the afternoon at about 6 p.m., as a number of the girls and other workers employed at the Broadway Factory were proceeding homewards to the Shankhill-road, they were heavily stoned by a party of R.C. Home Rule sympathizers at Dunville's fields, and, consequent on this, a riot immediately occurred between the two political parties in the neighbourhood of the Drew Memorial Church. Two small sections of police, numbering in all 10 constables and 2 sergeants, came on the scene. Sergeant Dempsey was in charge, and his evidence is that his men were heavily stoned, and that 2 rifle shots and also 5 or 6 shots from a revolver were fired at them. The police on this occasion fired 6 rounds of buckshot and 3 of ball, and each of these was fired separately, under the orders of Sergeant Dempsey, but there is no record of anyone having been injured. The evidence given as to the circumstances of this police firing was very conflicting. As there had been no previous firing in this neighbourhood, we fear that the fact of some of the fourth storey windows in the Mullhouse Factory, belonging to Messrs. Lindsay, Thomson, & Co., having been penetrated by ball or buckshot, and the lives of the factory girls endangered thereby, may have helped to extend the irritation and excitement already prevailing.

198. In the evening a police guard (2 sergeants and 10 constables) was posted to protect Gallagher's grocery premises in Ballymacarrett, which had been wrecked on the previous night. These men were savagely attacked by a stone-throwing mob, and the senior sergeant ordered 11 rounds to be fired. Dist.-Insp. Bull and two other officers drove up on hearing of the disturbance, and were themselves heavily stoned on their approach. Mr. Bull was struck some 7 or 8 times with large stones, and a slate was thrown with such violence that it embedded itself in the back of the car.

7 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 9 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

199. *Saturday, 7th August*.—On Saturday, 7th August, Insp.-Gen. Reed arrived in Belfast, having been sent from Dublin by the Chief Secretary to be in supreme control of the movements of the constabulary (Supplement D 5).

200. A general meeting of the magistrates, which had been postponed from the

Constab.
Returns.

Carr, 478—484.

180—181.
Stokes,
180—189.

McDon,
189—190.

Dr. Edw.
Shankhill,
1771, 1772.

Stokes,
191—192

Dr. Edw.
Shankhill, 1921,
1922, 1923, 1924,
1925

Carr, 192—193.

190—191.

424.

Callen,
1917—1925

Stokes,
1918—1923

Carr,
1924.

Carr, 194
195.

Stokes, 419

1919—1920

Carr, 191.

Long, Gen.
Reed, 1917.

1921.

McDon,
1924—1925.

Reed,
1927—1928.

Alcock,
1929, 1930.

1929, 1930.

Dempsey,
1929—1930.

1929—1930.

1929—1930.

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1929—1930.

1929—1930.

Insp. Gen.
Reed, 6801.

previous day, was held under the presidency of the Mayor. Major-General Moore, Insp. Gen. Reed, 46 borough magistrates and others attended. A letter from the Chief Secretary, dated the 6th August (Supplement D5), was read, and the minutes of the meeting record that "the terms of the Chief Secretary's letter met with general approval, and it was unanimously agreed that the clerk should supply a copy of it to the various Belfast newspapers in the hope that it might have a quieting effect on the public mind."

Sir Edw.
Harland,
755A,
7644.

201. The inspector general gave a very full and clear explanation as to the impartial manner in which the drafts of county police sent into Belfast had been selected, and he then added "that he recognised the Mayor as being the chief magistrate of the town of Belfast, and he was most desirous to co-operate with the Mayor and local magistrates in every way in his power in their endeavours to restore peace and order in Belfast."

Insp. Gen.
Reed, 6801.
Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

202. The general meeting then appointed the following gentlemen to form an executive committee to meet each morning during the continuance of the riots (five to form a quorum), and do the best they could, in the name of the magistrates, towards the restoration of order.

THE MAYOR.

Major-General MONTGOMERY-MOORE.

ANDREW REED, Esq., Inspector General of Constabulary.

The Hon. Colonel FORBES, R.M.

F. J. MCCARTHY, Esq., R.M.

F. N. CULLEN, Esq., Divisional Magistrate.

T. P. CARR, Esq., Town Inspector of Constabulary.

Sir DAVID TAYLOR, Kt.

Sir JOHN PRESTON, Kt.

JOHN BROWN, Esq.

THOMAS McLELLAND, Esq.

JAMES ROSS, Esq.

MICHAEL M'GEE, Esq., M.D.

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

203. Upon the motion of Mr. John Browne, J.P., it was unanimously resolved to issue notices closing all the public houses within the borough from 6 P.M. on Saturday, 7th August, to 9 A.M. on Monday, 9th August.

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

204. The following draft of a proclamation, which the Mayor proposed to issue, was submitted and approved of:—

"Whereas, for some time past riots have taken place within the borough to the injury of property and danger of the lives of the inhabitants, and whereas, sworn informations have been made that a renewal of such riots may be apprehended:

"Now, as Mayor, I do hereby give notice that the constabulary have received instructions to take prompt measures to prevent, and, if necessary, to disperse by force, all assemblies of persons and bands playing music in the streets or open spaces, from which riot or disturbance of the peace might be apprehended:

"And that the military and police will on all such occasions act as directed by the magistrates in command, or any magistrate who may be present.

"I have also to request that all peaceable inhabitants shall keep within their houses, attending to their lawful business, and avoid being found on the streets in crowds or mobs, otherwise they will be liable to the risk and consequences of forming part of riotous mobs, and being treated as such.

"E. J. HARLAND, Mayor."

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

205. The executive committee held their first meeting at 5 P.M., and there was a full attendance. Having divided the disturbed areas into 13 districts, they nominated a certain number (from 2 to 6) of the borough magistrates to take charge of each district in conjunction with a resident magistrate, and they ordered a circular to be issued communicating this to each of the borough magistrates, and asking them not only to take charge of the named districts, but also with that object to at once place themselves in communication with the resident magistrate or constabulary officer. They then unanimously appointed the Mayor and Sir John Preston to wait upon "the press of Belfast generally," and ask them to assist and support the constituted authorities in their efforts to restore order in the borough.

206. The attack made by a R.C. Home Rule crowd on the Broadway Factory girls at

Dunville's fields on the previous afternoon was seized upon by a small section of the riveters working on the Queen's Island Shipbuilding Yard as a pretext for committing brutal acts of retaliation on some of the R.C. Home Rule labourers. During the breakfast hour on this date one of these labourers named Newtown O'Mally, who had worked for 18 years on the Island without once being molested or interfered with in any way, was attacked by a crowd of about 30 rivet boys, who cried out, "There was a girl 'beat last night on the Falls." He was assaulted with sticks, and when he endeavoured to escape, was knocked down and stunned by blows from nuts, rivets, and bolts. Another labourer named William Bell was also accosted as a Fenian by the same gang, and then very brutally assaulted both with a stick and an iron bar. Some of his teeth were knocked out and his arm was broken.

207. Here it may be convenient to observe that these incidents, and those of the previous afternoon, may in some measure account for the very serious phase which the rioting by both political parties assumed on this day, and which is reported to have been the worst ever experienced in Belfast. We note that from 2 o'clock on this afternoon, there was continuous rioting between sections of both political parties, and frequent attacks on the police by the anti-Home Rulers, who, in two instances, discharged fire-arms in the direction of the police (para. 211, 212). Detachments of police on at least two separate occasions, when acting entirely on their own responsibility without a magistrate, deemed it necessary to maintain a prolonged fire on the people, and near Cupar-street a small party of police fired 3 rounds by order of Colonel Bowly, R.M. (para. 212, 214, 210). Very large military forces of both cavalry and infantry were actively employed throughout the day.

208. Early in the afternoon the Queen's Island workmen marched home in a more or less compact body, as had been their custom throughout the disturbed period. At different points of the route they were met by friends of their own party, and their numbers were further swelled by numerous roughs who, seeing the prospect of disorder, attached themselves to the crowd. The line of route was kept by both military and police, and a troop of the 5th Dragoon Guards followed immediately in rear. As this crowd passed Sberbrook-street they heavily stoned the small party of police on duty at that point, and the cavalry were required to charge up this street to their relief.

209. At about 4 P.M. there was rioting in Townsend-street, and heavy stone-throwing was carried on over the houses from Hastings-street. Colonel Bowly, R.M., brought up a military picket from the Model School, and found the two mobs contending in Hastings-street and Davis-street. As the military came up the R.C. Home Rule mob dispersed, but the others remaining, the soldiers had to charge two or three times to clear the street, and were heavily stoned.

210. Shortly after this Colonel Bowly was told of a serious riot in Cupar-street, and he at once went there, giving orders for a military picket to turn out and follow him. On his arrival he found a large R.C. Home Rule mob in Cupar-street, contending with an anti-Home Rule mob at the corner of Urney-street, and a small body of constabulary between the two trying to keep them separate. Colonel Bowly, finding that the anti-Home Rule mob were stoning the police as well as their opponents, ordered 2 or 3 rounds to be fired. The infantry coming up dispersed the R.C. Home Rule mob, and then charged and cleared the street. A man named David Berry, who then resided in this locality, gave evidence that owing to his having identified six of the Home Rule rioters in the police court, the R.C. Home Rule inhabitants attacked his house and threatened his life, and the animosity shown was so great that he and ten others living in separate houses were forced to leave and find houses elsewhere.

211. At about 5.30 P.M., when Dist.-Insp. Davies, of King's County, was at Divis-street with 19 constables armed with rifles, he was repeatedly informed by separate individuals that a small party of police were being "assaulted" in Dover-street. Believing that this story must have had some foundation, he took his men in that direction, and called out for Dist.-Insp. Pearson to follow with his party of 12 or 14 baton men. Both parties were attacked by rioters at the end of Dover-street and in the side streets. Dist.-Insp. Davies found his men assailed on all sides except in their rear, which was at this time protected by Mr. Pearson's baton men. On halting his party in Dover-street, a rifle or revolver was fired by some one, and the shot passed over the heads of the police. Dist.-Insp. Davies eventually ordered one round to be fired, and a young lad, Robert Strain, aged 18, then fell at the foot of Westmoreland-street, and died shortly afterwards of a gun-shot wound (Supplement B 2).

212. Soon after this a sergeant came running down and reported to Dist.-Insp. Davies that a party of police in the direction of Westmoreland-street were being surrounded, and that they would fare badly if not assisted. He therefore charged with his men up Westmoreland-street, and he was at once attacked from Diamond-street,

O'Mally,
14417.

14424.

14412,
et seq.Wm. Hall,
14254,
et seq.Bo. Mag
Minister
Bock, 4th
August.Stoken,
2107
2108
Lawther,
7804Bowly,
15081.Bowly,
15551.Fisher,
13288—
13317.
13323—
13329.
Bessy,
13207.Davies,
15319—
15323.Pearson,
15424.Stroclair,
10023.
Davies,
15324—
15335.
15347,
et seq.

which is a short street leading from this into the Shankhill-road. Dist.-Insp. Davies wheeled his party and charged up Diamond-street, but he was driven back by the crowd. Continuous revolver firing was then opened on his party by some one sheltering at a corner, and the stone-throwing was very heavy. He ordered 5 or 6 separate rounds to be fired, but the mob were so drunk and reckless that they paid little heed to it. He then from time to time ordered single shots to be especially aimed at the corner from which the revolver firing was carried on. In all 20 shots had been fired by this party of police, when a body of the Highland Light Infantry charged up, and, using the butts of their rifles very freely, drove the people back and blocked the street. Eventually the dragoons came up under a resident magistrate and charged up and down the Shankhill-road, and secured possession of that street. Dist.-Insp. Davies then withdrew his men to the Brickfield, but here he was again heavily stoned, and he therefore withdrew to the Model School.

213. There was much contradictory evidence given by certain of the townspeople as to the circumstances under which this detached party of police fired, but we see no reason whatever to question the statement made to us by the responsible constabulary officer. We think it very necessary, however, to direct your Excellency's attention to the fact that the police carried on continuous firing up a short street of about 70 yards, which faces across the Shankhill-road, directly on to No. 55, the shop and dwelling-house of Mrs. Ellen M'Kee. Throughout the whole time of the police firing Mrs. M'Kee and her 4 children were in this building, besides 6 other persons (1 man, 2 children, and 3 women), making 11 in all. Small panes of glass in the upper windows were broken, and at the time of our inquiry there were 21 shot holes to be seen in the lower windows of this shop. Fortunately no personal injury was caused to any one in the house, but as the risk to all within was so great, we are of opinion that other means should have been adopted for the protection of the police.

214. Whilst Dist.-Insp. Davies was occupied with the mob in Dover-street, he told Dist.-Insp. Pearson to charge with his party up a side street to dislodge the people who were throwing stones from Westmoreland-street. Dist.-Insp. Pearson did so, and soon found himself in difficulties with the mob then occupying all the neighbouring streets. He seems to have had no confidence in his baton party being able to cope with these, and he did not recognise the great advantage to be secured by keeping baton-men in close contact with the rioters. A fire-arm had also been discharged more than once at his men. Under these circumstances he despatched a message asking for constables armed with rifles to be sent to his assistance, as otherwise he would be unable to hold his position, and 1 sergeant and 3 constables with arms shortly arrived. Dist.-Insp. Pearson then went forward and warned the rioters that if they did not disperse he would have to fire. He was struck three times whilst speaking to them. He then ordered one shot to be fired, and shortly afterwards he had to continue this firing. His four armed men had expended 7 buckshot and 29 ball cartridges, and had only 4 cartridges left, when he ordered his party to retreat, remaining himself behind with two armed men to protect them. He then had to fire one more ball cartridge to keep back the crowd. Whilst this party of police was thus engaged, two of their number, Sergeant Gallagher and Constable Davidson, arrested one of the ringleaders, and in conveying him to the Model School both these officers were very badly beaten, and it is feared that Sergeant Gallagher will be a cripple for life.

215. At about 2 P.M. an anti-Home Rule mob of 300 to 500 attacked Mr. John Riordan's public house in North Boundary-street. The military were sent to its protection, and remained until 11.30 P.M., when they were withdrawn. The attack was then immediately renewed, and the mob (calling Mr. Riordan a Fenian and other names) took possession of the house. His wife and family had to make their escape through a skylight to an adjoining house, and these unhappy people were even attacked whilst on the roof, and suffered very severely from stone-throwing by a mob in the adjoining yard. Mr. Thynne, R.M., brought up a force of police, who regained possession of the house, and the mob dispersed. We note that this house had been wrecked on the evening of the 31st July, and 3 constables on that occasion having fired on the mob by order of a magistrate, it is likely that the death of the young lad, William Knox, aged 13, recorded on that date, may have been attributed to this firing; and this might in some degree account for—although it cannot in any way palliate—the brutally cruel conduct of this section of rioters. (Para. 170 and 171.)

216. The return of deaths shows 4 persons (Robert Strain, aged 16; John Edgeworth, aged 25; Isaac W. Jackson, aged 22; and John M'Aloney, aged 45) to have been killed by gunshot or buckshot wounds received on this date. (Supplement B 2.)

36 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 28 members of the constabulary were more or less seriously injured.

services in the Ulster hall. Evidence was given of the mischievous annoyances which this church and its congregation suffered from, and we find the minutes of the executive committee meetings very unduly burdened with representations, correspondence, and explanations regarding the same. The facts, however, would seem to be simply these—As early as the 9th June the only care-taker of the church insisted on removing to another locality, as he complained that his house had been attacked, and he had been forced to seek shelter with a Roman Catholic family. The church being thus neglected for several weeks, and the police being fully engaged in the more disturbed districts, much of the glass was broken from time to time, probably by mischievous children. Evidently at this time the congregation of the church fully shared in the indignation and resentment which a large section of the people entertained against the Royal Irish Constabulary; and apparently they would have preferred to have no guard at all, rather than be protected by the police, for we find that the Rev. Mr. Williamson and the Rev. Dr. Hanna, even as late as the 18th August (more than two months after the Bowershill firing), informed the executive committee that this was still the feeling of the congregation (Supplement D 3.) The unrestricted damage done to the windows disheartened the minister and his congregation, and at the same time encouraged to acts of further aggression the lawless elements existing in this as in every populous locality; but we are of opinion that the removal of the services from this church was quite uncalled for under the circumstances. There had hitherto (*i.e.*, prior to the mischief referred to) been no interference with this church, either by Roman Catholic residents or others. It is also proper to state that as soon as the annoyances complained of became known, many of the Roman Catholic residents and clergy exerted themselves to prevent any excuse being given to the congregation for further complaints either against Catholics or police.

223. At about 4 p.m. riotous sections of both political parties were stone-throwing in Devonshire-street, and in the side streets leading from it. Colonel Bowly, R.M., having with him at first only 7 constabulary, found it necessary to fire 15 single rounds at both parties; the dragoons then came up and cleared the streets. Revolver firing was soon afterwards opened on the police from Murdoch-street by the same anti-Home Rule mob, and Dist.-Insp. McDermott ordered 2 or 3 single rounds to be fired. The Rev. Patrick Magee (as on very frequent occasions during the riots) proved himself most useful in his exertions to disperse the R.C. Home Rule mob. A man, James Hunter, aged 21, was killed by the firing in Devonshire-street on this occasion; and shortly after this a R.C. Home Ruler, Owen Devlin, was mortally wounded near hand in Albert street. This was apparently the first casualty suffered by the Home Rule party since the murder of the boy Curran. We find, from a report made by Maj.-Gen. Montgomery-Moore, that on this date the military were obliged to fire 5 rounds upon a mob in North Howard-street, and we observe that it is recorded in the return of deaths that William Derby, a labourer, aged 40, was mortally wounded by a bullet in that street.

224. The death roll, consequent on the riots, on this day reached its highest figure—the number being 9 in all (Supplement B 2).

38 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 4 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

225. *Monday, 9th August.*—On the previous day the inspector general had sent for his officers and given them general instructions in regard to their duty, particularly as to carrying out the Mayor's proclamation, avoiding firing if possible, using the baton, and making as many arrests as they could. A general circular was then issued conveying these instructions to the constabulary. The executive committee had also ordered that all public houses should be closed on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of this week, from 5 p.m. to 10 a.m., and subsequently this order was extended to Thursday.

226. On this Monday, 9th August, rioting occurred at Coombe & Barbour's foundry, and also in Ballymacrurt. In both localities the police were badly stoned by roughs who were apparently in sympathy with the anti-Home Rule party, and the military assisted to restore order. On the Old Lodge-road a violent contest occurred between both political parties, and a few dragoons had dismounted in Wall-street, preparatory to firing, when a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Dr. Hanna, by permission of Mr. Thynne, R.M., intervened, and warned both mobs of their peril, with the result that both parties thanked him and dispersed.

31 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 2 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

227. *Tuesday, 10th August.*—On Tuesday, 10th August, the Roman Catholic funeral of Mr. Owen Devlin, who was shot on the previous Sunday, took place. It is alleged that the

roughs accompanying this funeral made an attack on the tramway depot stables, which resulted in serious disturbance, during which one of the tramway employees mortally wounded William Ferrin, one of the party, with a pitchfork (Supplement B 2). As it transpired that persons engaged on both sides were returned for trial, and one charged with murder, it was deemed inconvenient to more closely investigate this incident.

3 persons were arrested for rioting on this date.

Nease,
14559,
et seq.

Constab.
Returns.

228. Friday, 15th August.—On Friday, 15th August, there occurred at the Queen's Island Shipbuilding Yard another of those acts of cruel outrage by which a small section of the workers in that yard have, owing to the apathy shown by the other employees, been permitted, not only to endanger the peace of Belfast, but also to cast disgrace on a body of workmen who in many respects are second to none. An old labourer named John Johnstons, who is a R.C. Home Ruler, had worked in the yard during 34 years, and up to this time had never been interfered with in any way, but, during his breakfast hour on this morning he was suddenly attacked, beaten, and kicked by a gang, who then covered him with tar. The poor fellow at once left the yard, and has not worked there since.

Rev. J.
Tahill,
14453.

J. Johnston,
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houses were closed from 5 P.M. to 10 A.M. on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of this week, and also from 5 P.M. on Saturday, 21st August, to 10 A.M. on Monday, 23rd August.

Walsh,
#392. 234. *Wednesday, 18th August.*—On Wednesday, 18th August, some disturbance occurred near Coombe & Barbour's foundry, and a shot was fired. Captain Walsh, R.M., ordered the cavalry to charge, and order was restored.

Re. Mag
Minutes
Book. 235. *Thursday, 19th August.*—At the meeting of the executive committee on Thursday, 19th August, the inspector general reported, *inter alia*, "As regarded the 'West district, he had to observe that on the previous evening the Islandmen had 'passed up North-street to their homes in smaller numbers than any evening heretofore. 'The opposing party also did not muster in such large numbers as they had been in the 'habit of doing.' 'The beat men (constabulary) had, by his orders, been moving about 'in the Shankhill district in uniform during the day, and until 5 o'clock in the evening.'
1 person was arrested for rioting on this date.

236. *Monday, 23rd August.*—On Monday evening, 23rd August, a large mob of roughs, in sympathy with the anti-Home Rule party, commenced stoning the police near Stanhope-street on the Old Lodge-road. A sergeant with 9 baton-men acted very effectively in dispersing the crowd, and in apprehending prisoners; and later in the evening they again acted with similar success.

237. On this date, the inspector general being of opinion that the then state of the town did not require the authorities to continue the special restrictions which had heretofore from time to time been put in force in regard to public houses, it was unanimously resolved by the executive committee that these should be withdrawn.

11 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 5 members of the constabulary were more or less seriously injured.

238. *Wednesday, 25th August.*—On Wednesday, 25th August, it was generally rumoured that the constabulary were on that day to be restored to their duties on the Shankhill-road; the riotous section in that neighbourhood, in consequence of this, made an attack on Petershill harnack, and broke some of the windows. A party of baton-men under Town Inspector Carr promptly disposed of these rioters, and took about 20 into custody.

239. Later on this mob put out the gas lamps, and having secured a chain across Townsend-street as a trap for the police, they commenced to break the windows in Mr. Daly's public house, apparently intending by this means to draw the police into the neighbourhood.

240. The Rev. Dr. Hanna volunteered his services to reconnoitre this mob, and although the inspector general and others warned him of the danger and advised him not to go, he, together with Mr. Sinclair, determined to render this service; these gentlemen having discovered and removed the chain, the police were enabled to charge up the street and disperse the mob without difficulty.

19 persons were arrested for rioting on this date.

241. *Saturday, 26th August.*—On Saturday, 26th August, the inspector general reported to the executive committee that "the general impression was that the riots 'were over, and that the violent feelings of the people were daily subsiding."

242. *Monday, 30th August.*—We have already noted (para. 195, 196) that on the 6th August the police watching was wholly withdrawn from the Shankhill-road; and we find that on the 13th August the day watching only was resumed in this locality, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., by the police. The duties which were thus withheld from the hitherto armed police force had been transferred to the military forces, a number of whom were at this time specially organized, and temporarily *disarmed* for the more fitting discharge of these civic duties.

243. On Monday, 30th August, arrangements were made for restoring the town police force to their ordinary sphere of duty in the Shankhill-road locality; and the following proclamation, having been submitted and approved by the executive committee, was posted throughout the borough:—

"BOROUGH OF BELFAST.

"TO THE PEACEABLE AND LAW-ABIDING INHABITANTS.

"FELLOW TOWNMEN,—The time has now arrived when the constabulary must 'perform their regular duties in all parts of the town, and accordingly arrangements

"have been made for their return to full beat duty on Wednesday, 1st September, in those districts from which they have lately been partly withdrawn; I therefore call upon all the peaceable inhabitants to again aid the authorities and the constabulary in the preservation of the peace and the protection of property. The authorities have no desire to resort to extremities in preserving public peace, but it must be clearly understood that law and order, without which no civilized community can exist, must and will be fully enforced; and I would earnestly request all law-abiding citizens to prevail on the women and children to remain indoors in the evenings in the disturbed districts, lest they should unfortunately become mixed with the disturbers of the peace and suffer injury.

"(Signed) E. J. HARLAND, Mayor."

244. *Wednesday, 1st September.*—On Wednesday, 1st September, the constabulary, and batons only, were restored to their ordinary sphere of duty in this locality. The only disturbance of any note which arose on this evening was confined to the neighbourhood of Bowershill barrack, and was caused by some 200 roughs who threw stones at the police. The Riot Act was read, and the baton-men, effectively charging, made 16 arrests. A revolver bullet which was fired from this crowd struck and penetrated the clothing of Constable Reilly, but did him no injury. We may be allowed to ask your Excellency's attention to be given to the excerpt from the minutes of the meeting held on the following day by the executive committee (Supplement D 4).

16 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 3 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

245. *Sunday, 8th September.*—On the afternoon of the 4th September a paragraph had appeared in the *Evening Telegraph* to the effect that on the following afternoon the funeral of one of the members of the Orange institution would take place and would proceed to the Borough Cemetery.

246. At about 3 P.M. on Sunday, 5th September, the funeral referred to proceeded through the Grosvenor and Falls-roads. Large bands of roughs, apparently in sympathy with the R.C. Home Rule section, assembled on the Falls-road, and these made a serious stone-throwing attack upon the funeral party, who, however, acted with great forbearance; and on this occasion, it is proved that this section of the anti-Home Rule party wisely withstood all attempts to provoke them into retaliation, although their opponents pursued them the whole way to the Springfield-road, and again endeavoured to attack them on their return.

247. On this day the police at Conswater, on the Ballymacarrett side of the river, were attacked by a mob, but they used their batons so well that they readily restored order and made certain of the offenders amenable to justice.

18 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 1 member of the constabulary was injured.

248. On Monday, 6th September, the inspector general recommended to the executive committee that the extra constabulary should be reduced by 19 officers and 629 men or thereabouts, which would still leave in the town 10 officers and 400 men in addition to the ordinary town police force; and that 5 additional resident magistrates should be retained until Monday, 13th September. The executive committee thereupon unanimously resolved: "That this committee approve of the recommendations of the inspector general of constabulary, and of General Moore, with regard to the gradual reduction of the police and military forces, on the understanding that on and after the 15th instant a force of not less than 1,000 police and 1,900 military, to include 200 cavalry, be for the present held available for the preservation of the public peace."

249. On Tuesday, 7th September, the inspector general of constabulary returned to Dublin, leaving Assistant Insp.-Gen. Cullen in superior charge of the police forces, and the reduction of the extra forces was proceeded with.

250. *Sunday, 19th September.*—At about 7 o'clock in the evening of Sunday, 19th September, a man was arrested at the corner of Hamill-street for being drunk and disorderly, and he was taken to the Divis-street barrack, No. 2. Immediately afterwards this barrack was furiously attacked by a R.C. Home Rule mob, who demanded the release of this prisoner. The stone-throwing was very heavy, and some of the mob pulled the shutters off the windows, burst the door open, and actually forced their way into the barrack, while one man from the outside seized 2 rifles in the arm rack near the window, but he was luckily prevented getting possession of them, as the police then in defence fired on him and also on the mob, and from this firing three deaths have resulted—Thomas Boyle,

Insp. Gen.
Enslin, 1844.

Inspector,
1844—1845.

Inspector,
1845—1846.

Inspector,
1846—1847.

Inspector,
1847—1848.

Inspector,
1848—1849.

Chancellor,
1812.

Chancellor,
1812.

Cullen, 1815

Constab.
Returns.

Re. Mag
Returns
Book.

Reed, 1845.
Cullen,
1816.

Constab.
Returns.

Whelan,
1845, at 100
Allen, 1845,
at 100.

Declan,
1845—1846.

Cullen,
1816—1817.

Carr,
1818—1819.

1818—1819.

1818—1819.

1818—1819.

1818—1819.

labourer, aged 22; Catherine Kelly, mill-worker, aged 19; Thomas Connolly, butcher, aged 38 (Supplement B 2). Reinforcements of military and police arrived and order was then restored.

Constab. Returns. 3 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 3 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

Gardiner, 9365. 251. Monday, 20th September.—On Monday, 20th September, a large section of the R.C. Home Rule party, who came from the Falls-road, attacked a party of girls when leaving one of the factories at which they worked in Northumberland-street. On the arrival of the military under Mr. Gardiner, R.M., to protect these girls, the mob stoned them from three different directions, but the military charged and dispersed them.

Garr, 361. 252. The peace of the town in this and other R.C. Home Rule quarters continued to be more or less disturbed throughout this day.

Constab. Returns. 19 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 12 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

O'Brien, 1021. 253. Tuesday, 21st September.—On Tuesday, 21st September, at about 1.30 p.m., 2 district inspectors were violently attacked with stones on the Falls-road by a R.C. Home Rule mob.

Walsh, 9391. 254. During the afternoon the funeral took place in the Borough Cemetery of the man Thomas Boyle, who had been killed by the firing from the Divis-street barrack on the 19th September. On the return of the funeral party at about 4.30 p.m. some stone-throwing occurred near Hastings-street, the mob attacking both the police and military in Divis-street; but the police charged and took 6 prisoners.

Constab. Returns. 14 persons were arrested for rioting on this date, and 4 members of the constabulary were more or less injured.

O'Brien, 1021. 255. After the 21st September the agitation amongst the riotous section of the R.C. Home Rule party appears to have calmed down, but on the 29th and 30th September there were some slight disturbances in North Howard-street between the two political parties.

So. Mag. Minute Book. 256. On the 30th September, the executive committee adjourned their meeting *sine die*. Before closing this sketch of the circumstances of the riots, it is convenient to mention a few other matters more or less connected therewith.

Hadlett, 12205, 12261. 257. The Borough of Belfast had been declared on the 12th May, 1881, a proclaimed district under the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act of that year, and we notice that on the 20th July (seven days subsequent to the murder of Head Constable Gardiner and Private Hughes, par. 149) the late Lord Lieutenant by proclamation declared the said Acts of 1881 and 1886 to be still in force in the Town of Belfast, and he enacted certain conditions and regulations in regard to the possession of firearms and ammunition. The fact that this was done without any previous intimation to the Mayor is said to have been very generally interpreted, and even amongst the upper classes of Belfast, "as being an insult, not alone to the Chief Magistrate, but through him to the town." This feeling must, we think, have arisen under the influence of strong political prejudice, and from an entire misunderstanding of the limited scope of these statutes. Practically these so-called *Peace Preservation Acts* simply give powers to the Lord Lieutenant by proclamation to order certain restrictions, with a view to guard against the improper possession of either firearms or ammunition, and also, if necessary, to grant search warrants to enforce these restrictions, but in no other respect do they admit of interference with the liberties of the people.

Insp. Gen. Reed, 6526. 258. On the 15th August, Inspector-General Reed having recommended a search for arms under the powers conferred by these statutes, warrants for searching certain specified houses were issued by the Lord Lieutenant. These warrants were executed, but the only arm found was one pea rifle.

Carr, 817. 259. In regard to the complaints that had been freely made as to the conduct of the police when dealing with the disturbances from the 6th to 10th June, it transpired during our inquiry that the constabulary investigation usual in such cases had not been held, as, by the advice of the law officers of the crown, it had been postponed consequent on the warrant issued by the late Lord Lieutenant on the 26th July appointing a Commission of Inquiry into the Belfast riots. As this is a matter to which we consider some importance attaches, we quote the following from the evidence of Inspector-General Reed:—"In the beginning of the riots, when their conduct, it might be said, required investigation, it was proposed that a constabulary inquiry should be held, this was before the Commission was appointed. When the Commission was decided upon I submitted the matter to the law officers of the Crown, and the constabulary inquiry was postponed. We had intended having a preliminary investigation, and afterwards a

Insp. Gen. Reed, 6301.

"sworn one, into any charges of neglect or violation of duty on the part of the police, but when the Commission was appointed we were precluded from going into the matter. We could not hold any inquiry into the matters that would come under the notice of the Commission, because it might be alleged that we were examining the men, and making them up in their evidence."

Imp. Gen.
Reed, 6801.

260. We are mindful of the fact that many innocent and valuable lives were sacrificed by the police firing at Bowershill on the 9th June (par. 105), and yet that the warrant appointing commissioners to investigate the action of the police and other circumstances was not issued until 47 days afterwards,—namely, on the 26th July, when the late government were leaving office. We hold strongly to the opinion that an independent and searching investigation at the earliest possible moment into all the circumstances of the June riots was essentially necessary in order to preserve the peace of the town—and, moreover, was called for in justice to the Royal Irish Constabulary. Such matters we are satisfied cannot be safely postponed; and we find ample confirmation of this view, not only in subsequent events, but also in the action taken by the government four months previously, in regard to the riot in London on Monday, 8th February, when only valuable property was destroyed and no life sacrificed. The then Home Secretary, assisted by Lord Wolsley and three other gentlemen, without delay opened an inquiry, and held their first preliminary meeting in the same week, on Saturday, 13th February, and on Monday, 22nd February, the fourteenth day after the riot, a very full report, both as to the conduct of the police and other circumstances, was laid before Parliament.

261. In the foregoing narrative we have endeavoured to furnish to your Excellency an outline of the circumstances of the riots as they continued from the 6th to 16th June, and as they recurred at six different periods—namely, 7th and 8th July; 13th and 14th July; 31st July to 15th August; 25th August; 3th September; and 18th to 21st September. We have also in every case endeavoured to indicate the immediate temporary cause to which the renewal of the disturbances may be reasonably attributed. It is our opinion, however, that the small riotous sections of the community derived their power to work mischief from certain marked defects and omissions, for which the executive and other authorities must be held either in part or wholly accountable, namely:—

- 1st, The faulty arming of the constabulary for town duties, which not only weakened their moral influence, but deprived them of the power to act with efficiency in the earlier stage of each disturbance and caused the loss of many innocent lives (pars. 105 and 219).
- 2nd, During the period from the 4th June to the 6th August, the failure of every one to recognise the definite responsibility (individual or collective) resting either on himself or on others for the direction of the measures necessary for the preservation of the peace in the town of Belfast (pars. 287 to 294).
- 3rd, The long time allowed to elapse before appointing an inquiry to be held as to the fatal events that occurred at Bowershill on the 9th June (pars. 259, 260).
- 4th, The omission to enrol special constables, and in consequence the withholding from the law-abiding citizens that statutory and organized power which was so essentially necessary to enable each one to fulfil his duty to the State in regard to the preservation of the peace.

Swick,
3494—3497

The evidence leads us to believe that any one of the foregoing circumstances was in itself sufficient to account for the continuance of the disturbances.

VI.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE POLICE FORCE USUALLY AVAILABLE AT BELFAST, AND THE EXISTING LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE PEACE IN THAT TOWN.

262. In considering the efficiency of the town police force we first refer to its personnel, and we do so the more briefly as many important questions affecting appointments and promotions in the Royal Irish Constabulary have been most ably and exhaustively reported upon by the Commissioners appointed in 1872 to investigate this and kindred subjects, and we deem it quite unnecessary to retrace the ground covered by their report. The officers of the town police force, from the rank of head constable to the town inspector, are appointed to Belfast (either on promotion or on transfer) by careful selection from among the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The sergeants are appointed by promotion from the constables serving in the town force. The constables are selected from among those who, having three years service in the Royal

Imp. Gen.
Reed,
6803—6802
Orr,
703—702
Imp. Gen.
Reed,
6874—686

Insp. Gen.
Reed,
6808—6901
6854.
Curr. 697.
702.

Irish Constabulary, volunteer or are recommended by their county inspector for appointment to Belfast. If it is represented by the town inspector that any constable so appointed proves to be unsuited for town duties, the inspector general immediately transfers him elsewhere, and if any constable marries a resident in the town he is transferred to another locality, but otherwise the only changes other than death, retirement, or dismissal, are those caused by promotion, or to meet the convenience, either of the members of the force, or of the public service.

Swart,
1901.
Luther,
1901, 1902
1903, 1904.
For Ireland
London, 1906.

263. We report to your Excellency that we find the police force in Belfast is thus well officered and ably manned, and we may add that the evidence conclusively proves that whilst the great majority of well informed people in Belfast have, with good reason, desiderated a complete change in the operation of the force, they have not manifested any serious wish for a change in its personnel.

Curr. 15-19.
Townsend,
1461—1483
Police Code,
Sec. 696.

264. *As to the arming of the force.*—We find that every head-constable, sergeant, and constable in the Royal Irish Constabulary, in addition to his baton, is supplied with a rifle and sword bayonet, together with forty rounds of ball or buckshot ammunition. These firearms "are entrusted to them for their own preservation, and that of their "barracks and prisoners." At any time circumstances might arise in which the services of over 10,000 well disciplined riflemen would prove of great value to the State; this alone would debar us from entertaining any suggestion to deprive a branch of the Royal Irish Constabulary of their military weapons; but another consideration also weighs with us, namely, that the popularity of the force, and in some respects its high standard of efficiency, may in our opinion have been due to the fact that its semi-military character harmonizes well with the instincts of the Irish race.

Str Edw.
Harland,
7690.
L'Estrange,
9314.
Townsend,
1317.
1845.
Stokes, 6130
Gerrard,
3667—3677

265. We hold these views very strongly, nevertheless we find it our duty to report that, as a police weapon, the rifle has the following serious disadvantages:—Its range with ball cartridge makes it excessively dangerous to unoffending people, and this should, in our opinion, absolutely prohibit its use for purely police purposes in towns (Supplement B2). Its range and other qualities interfere with the constant practice so necessary to insure accurate shooting, and yet it is only as a skilled sharpshooter that a policeman so armed could be of any service. The rifle is not a weapon that can be safely carried loaded on police duty, and it is therefore wholly useless to a constable as a defence against sudden attack or assassination; but even if ready loaded, it is unhandy and ill adapted for any such defensive use. The weight of the rifle and sword are at all times a hindrance to the active duties required of a constable, and if armed with a rifle he can neither use a baton, capture or hold a prisoner, nor do anything whatever to restrain a disorderly crowd; and whilst his presence under arms is only too likely to excite them, his helpless position is a direct encouragement to stone-throwing, and to all the rough boisterous display in which young and reckless lads find so much enjoyment. The safe custody of a rifle and ammunition when on street duty is in itself a serious additional responsibility, and the likelihood of these being taken from a constable, if he is stunned or overpowered, introduces a new element of danger. It is extremely difficult for men so armed to close with an active, riotous, stone-throwing crowd, and this may account for the buckshot firing having been carried on at too great a distance to be effective. Practical experience of the use of buckshot during these disturbances seems to indicate that its stopping power is very uncertain, and is limited to a short range. In fact this feature probably led to its adoption for police purposes, and, in any case, it is quite evident that this ammunition to be effective must be used at close quarters. (Para. 108 and 100.)

Strick,
3411.
Cullen,
984, 985.

Carrasbar,
3951.

266. We believe that the evidence as to the action of the police when dealing with riotous crowds in Belfast shows that, whether armed with batons or with rifles, they usually adopted methods more suited to the latter than to the former weapons. It is obvious that this should not have been so, for in the case of a baton party acting against a street crowd, that method which affords the greatest safety to the constables, and at the same time derives the maximum effect from their moral, and, if necessary, their physical force, is the taking up of a position in close contact with the front rank of the crowd, supported if practicable by small groups of three (in view on the footpaths) in contact with the sides of the same crowd. Such close supervision is more constitutional, and is calculated, in our opinion, to tend more to the preservation of order than the use of either ball or buckshot. No serious stone-throwing can be carried on under such circumstances without injuring the rioters as well as the police, and any dangerous offensive movement by the crowd should instantly mean at least two broken heads to every baton, and this without causing the slightest risk to unoffending persons, women or infants.

Pearson,
15497.

Gann, 4540

With riflemen, however, under like circumstances such measures appear, owing to the nature of the weapon, to be neither practicable nor expedient. The men require greater freedom for the proper handling of the rifle, and in the event of a sudden rush, if unloaded, the men might not be able to act quickly enough, and if loaded they might

act too quickly. Almost invariably, when rifle parties were used to keep in check a disorderly crowd, we find that they were forced to take up a position which enabled the rioters to stone them with impunity, until matters became so intolerable as to result in the order being given to fire. The baton parties were frequently kept at the same exposed distance, and when, in order to stop the stone-throwing, they advanced to disperse the crowd, of course the rioters, having several yards start of the constabulary, easily made good their escape. But, in our opinion, this want of success was not due to the baton, but to absence of training in the use of it. It has been made abundantly clear by the evidence that for the primary and all-important duty of *preserving order* the rifle is worse than useless, and that its efficiency as a weapon for the restoration of order is very questionable, but, on the other hand, in every instance in which the baton was used with judgment and determination, whether for the preservation or the restoration of order, it proved to be a thoroughly reliable and effective weapon.

267. *As to the barrack arrangements.*—The 22 police barracks to which the force are attached are situated in three parts of each district where it is thought that the services of the men are most likely to be required, and, with very few exceptions, each barrack is in connection by means of A B C telegraph instruments with the head-quarter barrack of its district, and each of these four district headquarters is in similar connection with the police-court, or town look-up building; this, again, has a connection to the town inspector's office in Queen-street.

268. In most instances the windows of the front or day-rooms are barred, but there is, generally speaking, no sufficient structural security for ordinary police purposes, and in the majority of cases we consider that the sleeping, dining, cooking, lavatory, and other accommodation afforded is quite inadequate to secure the healthful comfort of the men; and there is no provision of any kind for reading or recreation.

269. Throughout the 22 barracks there is not one cell for the temporary safe custody of a prisoner, the only police cells being those provided by the town authorities in connection with the police-court buildings; so that any prisoners temporarily brought to a barrack to await removal to the police cells, must in every case be placed in the personal keeping of a sufficient guard, and, if drunken or noisy, they must unduly disturb the sleep of the men who are off duty.

270. Each man keeps his rifle in the day-room of his barrack, with 10 rounds of ammunition in his pouch and 30 rounds in his box. Thus we find that at the outset the police authorities have saddled themselves with the responsibility of guarding fully 20 very exposed and insecure armouries, a duty which, in our opinion, must prove fully as onerous as the safe guarding of all other parts of Belfast.

271. Each barrack necessitates separate provision being made for its safeguard, for intercommunication, and for record-keeping of criminal informations, complaints, and duties performed. We find that these are provided for thus:—

One constable is named daily for 24 hours continuous duty as barrack guard; he is styled "barrack orderly," and is charged with the care of the barrack, which he is not to quit; he is to be constantly in uniform throughout the 24 hours in readiness to answer any call, and to rouse his comrades in case of alarm; he is to note in a diary the going out and the coming in of any of the police. This absorbs daily a force of 22 constables who are unavailable for other duty.

Immediately on the expiration of this 24 hours duty as barrack orderly, the same constable is held available for keeping up intercommunication, and during this second day he is known as "despatch orderly;" but in special cases he is occasionally detailed for other light duty; practically, however, this absorbs daily a force of fully 16 constables.

One sergeant is engaged daily in each barrack to keep the record of complaints, of information received, and of the duties performed. We find that in some few barracks this sergeant does other casual duty, but practically this barrack book-keeping absorbs daily a force of fully 18 sergeants.

272. Fifty-six men are in this way expended solely on inactive barrack duty, and, in addition, there are six employed as mess-men at the six principal barracks, six on clerical duties at the town inspector's and district inspectors' offices, sixteen for prisoners' guard or other duty at the town look-up or cell buildings, and, if we include one mounted orderly, we have a total strength of 85 officers and men expended daily on those inactive duties which are essential to the working out of the existing town police system (Supplement B 3).

273. In estimating the active strength usually available for the preservation of the peace, it is necessary to strike off these 85 men, but in time of disturbance a further deduction might be necessary owing to the police calls and barracks at such times requiring additional protection.

Stritch,
3408, 3409,
Bell,
1889, 1890,
Evans,
5178.

Bailey, 5115
Cavey,
15441.
15483,
Townsend,
1318,
Gardiner,
5381.
Townsend,
1677.
Carr,
473—476

Townsend,
1584, 1585.

1681—1685

R. I. Const.
Barrack
Regulations

Townsend,
1369—1373
Gross,
3069—3071
Stritch,
3363—3365

3381.
Gross,
3067.
Townsend,
1549—1550
1579.
Stritch,
3389.
Carr,
49—53

Townsend,
1874—1881

274. The regulations provide that one-half of the force who are off duty are at all times to be kept in each barrack, but subject to this restriction the men may, on leaving word with the barrack orderly, absent themselves in uniform for two hours. It is intended that the men thus retained in each barrack should at all times, if necessary, furnish an efficient reinforcement to men on beat duty, but even in this (which appears to be their sole *raison d'être*) we find that these small barracks are quite unreliable and ineffective. The evidence shows that in the ordinary course of duty, for general muster or otherwise, these barracks are frequently denuded of their small available force, and the men on beat duty can never count with certainty upon obtaining from them immediate and direct assistance; and under the most favourable circumstances such a system must, on investigation, be found seriously defective. It should be noted that the available strength attached to each barrack (without making any allowance for sickness or leave) averages 22 all told, and we find that one-half of the off-duty force may be 7 or 8. Now we first note that during a great part of the day there would in every case be the night-duty force in bed. Then again, if any emergency arises, these few men may have just tumbled out as a reinforcement, when another urgent call arrives asking for assistance in an opposite direction; but, in our opinion, a grave objection to such a system is, that it throws the greater part of this extra emergency duty on the men attached to the five or six barracks that happen to be close to the more troublesome localities. We think that all such extra calls should as far as practicable fall evenly on the whole town force, not only that the duties may thus be made lighter, but mainly because the experience gained on these occasions would add greatly to the general efficiency of the men stationed in quiet districts.

Smith,
2347, 2366.
Carrahan,
3918—3930

Townsend,
1340.

275. Before taking beat duty the men parade inside their own barrack; they then march to one central parade point in the public street, at which they, together with the other men of their district, assemble, and in the public view are told off to their beats. This district parade ground is usually a convenient open space in the public streets (near to a dead wall or such like place), and we are satisfied from our personal observation that this practice may in a great measure account for the accurate foreknowledge which the lawless and troublesome classes appear to have obtained as to the strength and various distribution of the police force during the disturbances; and we deem it proper to add that, in our opinion, these minute inspections, occurring repeatedly during each day in the presence of an inquisitive group of street loafers, are calculated to weaken the personal influence of the constable with that class of people.

Townsend,
1345, 1349.

276. The distribution of each district force to these small so-called barracks, in a great measure removes the members of the force from the direct personal supervision of the district inspectors, and must cause delay and inefficiency in the transmission of orders and the interchange of police information—in fact it is fatal to elasticity or rapid adjustment of duties to meet variable circumstances.

Deasy,
11520.
Strick,
3494—3497

277. *As to the beat duty and general arrangements.*—All police arrangements, both for the preservation of the peace and the protection of property, under ordinary circumstances might appear at first sight to rest under the control of the town inspector, but having regard to the very dependent statutory position assigned to this local chief officer (page 7, par. 18), we believe that he, as a matter of fact, exercises little or no independent power of initiative, and although the duty is laid upon him to dispose of the police force so as to meet the requirements special to the town of Belfast, he appears, either from the necessity of his position or from training, to conform to general arrangements which, in our opinion, are ill-adapted to meet the requirements of the town.

278. We may here observe that the daily exigencies, even those of a general character, in each police area necessarily differ; and although there are certain police requirements common to all towns, and similarly others common to all counties, yet nearly every area will have its peculiar but general daily demands, and from a police point of view each area will present wholly distinct features. The following are a very few only, among the variety of circumstances which should necessitate important distinctions in the working out of the police arrangements in towns:—*As to the staple industries*—their nature, hours of work, days for paying wages; *as to the people*—migratory or seafaring, their housing, their past, present, and general habits, the drinking habits, their religions, politics, recreations, education, and social position; *as to the locality*—its surroundings, popular gatherings, markets, visitors, excursions, the depredatory class and facilities for the disposal of stolen goods, &c. The efficiency of the police arrangements will depend upon their elasticity, or power both to expand and to economise force, so as to adjust the strength on active duty at any moment to the ever recurring but inconstant and temporary demands thus created at various times of the day and periods of the year.

279. The duty of preserving the peace in Belfast under ordinary circumstances is mainly, and we might say wholly, entrusted to the street or beat-duty force, and for convenience, whilst briefly explaining the system or *tour of duty*, and the nominal strength in each division of duty, we shall quote the actual number thus placed on regular beat duty on 31st May, 1886, this being the date for which the constabulary returns were made up (Supplement B 3):—

ROSTER				Actual Number Officer and Men, 31st May, 1886.	Townsend, 1340—1347
1st Day Division,	one-sixth of the street force, 6 hours' duty,	from 6 A.M. to 9 A.M., and 3 P.M. to 6 P.M.,	-	50	
2nd Day Division,	one-sixth of the street force, 6 hours' duty,	from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M.,	-	51	
Evening Division,	one-third of the street force, 5 hours' duty,	from 6 P.M. to 11 P.M.,	-	106	
Night Division,	one-third of the street force, 7 hours' duty,	from 11 P.M. to 6 A.M.,	-	137	
Total,				346	

In working the above, each man averages during three months 6 hours of street or beat duty out of every 24 hours.

The day duty is performed singly, one man being on each beat.

The evening and night duty is performed in pairs, two men being on each beat.

The men on day duty exchange first and second divisions daily.

Strick,
3382.

280. The whole of the beat-duty force interchange monthly, thus:—The night division forms the evening division; The evening division forms the two day divisions; The two day divisions form the night division. An allowance of sixpence per night is paid to each man on night duty, and this extra pay is defrayed by the borough.

Townsend,
1348.
Carr, 785.

281. The 18 mounted police (par. 24) are allocated 3 to each district and 6 to the headquarters, but they are all under the immediate direction of the town inspector, and none of the mounted force are placed at the free disposal of the district inspectors. The evidence indicated to us that this costly but valuable adjunct to the town police force is seldom utilized for anything but patrol and despatch duty, and that no very general use is made thereof for the preservation of order, unless in the case of large processions and special demonstrations.

683—687.
Strick,
3414.
Townsend,
1316.
Carmahan,
3952—3997

282. Belfast is said to suffer very little from the ordinary class of serious crime, and the 19 men constituting the detective staff (par. 24) have proved fully equal to the duties occasioned thereby. For the carrying out of plain clothes duties in connection with riotous crowds, the men of the beat-duty force in suitable disguise have proved very efficient, and, in our opinion, they are specially fitted for the discharge of such duty.

Carr, 775.
Bailey,
8147.
8133.

283. We believe that on the occasion of the town inspector becoming suddenly incapacitated owing to his serious injuries, there was at the time no distinct provision by deputy or otherwise for the immediate assumption of his duties by an officer of the town force. If this were so, it is a matter requiring consideration with a view to amendment.

Carr, 127.

284. We direct attention to a tabular abstract compiled from the information furnished by the constabulary as to the duties actually performed by the town police force on the 31st May, 1886 (Supplement B 3). This abstract shows that, in addition to the above force of 346 on beat duty, 62 were engaged during the day on various kinds of active watching duty, 27 were engaged on incidental or casual duties, 85 were expended on inactive duties (par. 272), 81 were recorded ineffective and short of complement (par. 24), and 7 (including 2 members of the town force) were then apparently on the staff of the divisional magistrate; these numbers making the full total of 608 (pars. 24, 25).

285. Having given consideration to the working hours and habits of the industrial population in Belfast, as indicated by the evidence, we are of opinion that the town requires, in addition to the protection afforded by a regular beat-duty force, a limited system of extra police pickets, for duty from 6 A.M. to 7 A.M., from 1 P.M. to 2 P.M., from 5 P.M. to midnight, and also that there should be a small reliable reserve force in each district, readily available throughout the 24 hours, and in uniform from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M.

Bailey,
8158.

286. Whether the present numerical strength of sergeants and constables is capable of meeting all these requirements is a question which we have studied very carefully, and we confidently express our opinion that their numbers are amply sufficient to meet these and all other police requirements in Belfast, but that the existing arrangement of duties is defective and the source of much inefficiency.

VII.

THE PROCEEDINGS AND ACTION TAKEN BY THE MAGISTRATES, STIPENDIARY AND LOCAL, AND OTHER AUTHORITIES, AND THE POLICE FORCE ON THE OCCASION OF THE RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES (SO FAR AS NOT REPORTED UNDER IV. AND V.)

287. Throughout the first critical period of actual or apprehended disturbance, viz., from the afternoon of Friday, 4th June, to midnight on Monday, 7th June, the town inspector apparently acted under the advice and direction of the two gentlemen appointed as resident magistrates for Belfast (which appointments, as already explained, require no legal or police qualifications); and during the afternoon and evening of Monday the divisional magistrate, Assist. Insp.-Gen. Cullen gave his assistance and concurrence. The action taken by these government officials at this time has already been sufficiently reported upon (pages 8 to 13, para. 26 to 53).

288. After the morning of the 8th June we find that the executive authority in Dublin commenced to take action by drafting into the town extra resident magistrates and additional police. In the first instance they did this at the urgent request of the resident (or paid) magistrates, and they continued to do so and to increase the military garrison from time to time in great part on their own initiative, and also in part by request of the local magistracy (Supplement D 1).

289. The following summary may convey some idea of the extra number (varying from day to day) of magistrates, officers, and constabulary forces furnished during the disturbed periods:—

	Resident Magistrates.	District Inspectors.	Other Constabulary.
From 6th June to 21st June, -	1 to 8 -	4 to 22 -	250 to 1126
From 2nd July to 30th July, -	2 to 9 -	5 to 21 -	250 to 1039
From 31st July to 23rd September, -	3 to 18 -	1 to 29 -	50 to 1059

290. The changes in the chief officers having local charge of the town police forces may be thus stated:—

4th June to 8th June—Town Inspector Carr.

9th June—Assist. Insp.-Gen. Cullen (Mr. Carr having been injured.)

9 P.M. on 9th June to 22nd June—Assist. Insp.-Gen. Newland, from the Dublin Depot.

22nd June to 1st July—County Inspector Ross.

1st July to 14th July—Town Inspector Carr.

14th July to 26th July—Deputy Insp.-Gen. Fanning, from Dublin.

26th July to 2nd August—Town Inspector Carr.

2nd August to 7th August—Assist. Insp.-Gen. Colomh, from Dublin.

7th August to 7th Sept.—Insp.-Gen. Reed was present in Belfast and in supreme control of the movements of the police (Supplement D 5).

7th September to 30th September—Assist. Insp.-Gen. Cullen.

291. From the 10th June to 30th June the East district inspector, Mr. Townsend, acted as adjutant to the chief officer of the town police force, and subsequent to that date Town-Inspector Carr, when not personally in charge, assisted the chief officer.

292. At the critical period, from the 4th to the 7th June, the resident magistrates of Belfast were, in the absence of the Mayor, the only gentlemen who exercised magisterial jurisdiction over the police arrangements. The Mayor returned on the night of the 7th June, but it was not until the 10th June, on the day after the fatal firing at Bowershill, that he called a meeting of the borough magistracy to be held at 3 P.M. in the Town hall. No less than 52 magistrates immediately responded, and we have already stated the action which they resolved upon in regard to the street supervision by borough magistrates, the closing of public houses, and the restricted use of the extra police forces (para. 111, 112). The notable calm that ensued after this meeting was evidently in a great measure due to the general confidence inspired by this meeting, and to the powerful impulse thereby given to the individual exercise of other local influence for the preservation of the peace (para. 132, 133).

293. We find throughout the whole of these disturbances, that in every instance in which a general meeting of the borough magistracy was called to consider measures for the preservation of order, their intervention was attended by very marked success.

294. The following summary shows the dates when each meeting of the borough magistracy was held, and the practical result that immediately followed thereon:—

Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF BOROUGH MAGISTRATES.

TIME AND DATE.	NATURE OF BUSINESS.	PRACTICAL RESULT.
3 P.M., 10th June. Called by circular of the same date.	"To make arrangements for the preservation of the public peace." (Vide para. 111, 112.)	No disturbance from mid-night on 10th June to 7th July.
2 P.M., 25th June.	"To consider what arrangements may be necessary for the preservation of the public peace at the approaching Parliamentary Election; and also on the 12th July." (Supplement D 1.)	The Parliamentary Election on the 6th July was conducted without disturbance. The Orange Institution held its annual demonstration, and this 12th July was the quietest ever known in Belfast.
3 P.M., 14th July. Called by circular of the same date.	"To make arrangements for the preservation of the public peace." (Supplement D 2.)	The Mayor issued a proclamation, and after this date all continued quiet to the 30th July.
Noon, 7th August.	"To take into consideration the present state of the town (par. 196), with a view of making arrangements for the restoration of order." (Vide para. 200 to 205.)	The Mayor issued a proclamation. The Executive Committee of 13 gentlemen (5 to form a quorum) was appointed to act in the name of the Magistrates towards the restoration of order.

295. Previous to the 7th August, except on those occasions which were dealt with by the foregoing general meetings, we find that all resident magistrates (both permanent and extra) made a practice of meeting together from time to time to decide the magisterial and police arrangements to be made for the government of the town. They were assisted in their counsels by the chiefs of police, and frequently by the general commanding the troops (para. 193 to 195). We have been unable to discover any precedent for this course of procedure, but on the contrary it appears both from the evidence and from the magistrates' minute book (Supplement D 6, D 7) that in former years the practice has been to call a general meeting of magistrates to give timely consideration to any arrangements that might be rendered necessary by serious or special circumstances. We even find that the borough magistracy were thus called on the 28th June last to arrange for the approaching parliamentary election, and for the 12th July demonstration, and yet they were not called together to make proper provision for preserving the peace on the occasion of the school excursion on the 31st July, notwithstanding the evidence proves (especially that given by Colonel Forbes, R.M.) that the danger to be apprehended of disturbance to the peace "was far worse then than on the 12th July."

296. However, on the 7th August the Magistrates' Executive Committee, which was appointed at the general meeting to act in the name of the borough magistracy, at once assumed full magisterial control of the arrangements for restoring order, and met daily for this purpose (para. 202 and 205).

297. At each meeting (after the preliminary business was transacted) Inspector General Reed made his report as to the state of the town during the preceding day and night; also he and Maj.-Gen. Montgomery-Moore furnished full information to their colleagues as to the executive action of the police and military forces, for the details of which they were solely responsible. The committee, after due consideration, then decided on the course to be taken for the government of the town, and the chiefs of the military and civil forces regulated their action accordingly, and reported thereon at the next meeting. The work of this "Executive Committee" and the extraordinary difficulties which they had to overcome have been sufficiently traced in our previous sketch of the disturbed periods. The success which attended their labours should, in our opinion, encourage their successors for all time to endeavour to govern the citizens in strict accordance with the principles of local self government.

Parish,
4118,
4239—429
Bo. Mag.
Minute
Book.

VIII.

WHETHER THE AFOREMENTIONED AUTHORITIES AND THE EXISTING POLICE FORCE ARE
ADEQUATE TO THE FUTURE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER AND TRANQUILITY WITHIN
THE TOWN.

298. In answer to the question whether the magisterial, police, and other authorities, and the existing police force are adequate to the future maintenance of order and tranquillity, we have to report to your Excellency that apparently each of the authorities when considered alone will be found fully adequate for the due discharge of its separate and special duty to the State, but undoubtedly these authorities and the existing police force *collectively* in their existing relationship (or want of defined relationship) are quite inadequate for the steadfast and permanent performance of any such important duty.

299. The magisterial authorities may, and they did occasionally, unite and co-operate at any general meeting of the Commission of the Peace for the Borough; but whenever the meeting dissolved, all paramount authority and collective government ceased, and the magisterial management of the town again fell into the hands of three or four distinct, more or less independent, and practically irresponsible, magisterial and police authorities.

300. No effective union was constituted until the 7th August, on which date the general meeting, by appointing the Executive Committee, fully amalgamated all authorities, and established one thoroughly efficient representative body, duly commissioned by them to restore peace and order (par. 202).

301. The question naturally arises—Why was this not done early in June?—and we may therefore mention to your Excellency that this action was consequent on, and perhaps only rendered practicable by the terms of the letter received on this date by the Mayor from the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Supplement D 5),—the arrival of Inspector-General Reed to be in supreme control of the movements of the police,—and the following definite statement made by that officer to the general meeting of the magistrates: "That he recognised the Mayor as being the chief magistrate of the Town of Belfast, and was desirous to co-operate with the Mayor and local magistrates in every way in his power" (par. 201).

302. This suggests to us that the power to being about this union of authority rested rather in the hands of the Central Executive than in those of the local magistracy. The evidence in our opinion clearly demonstrates that the want thus temporarily supplied by the appointment of the Executive Committee is a permanent and radical defect in the present magisterial and police system, which renders it inadequate for the duty referred to.

303. In regard to the adequacy of the existing police force, the answer depends mainly upon the view that may be taken of the relative duties devolving upon the people and the police respectively, to actively assist the magistrates and civil power in maintaining the public peace.

304. If the people are to be relieved of this duty, or (practically the same thing) if the magistrates are in future to withhold the necessary powers and organization so essential both to protect special constables and to enable them to efficiently discharge their duties, then the existing police force may at times prove wholly inadequate. In fact, looking to the experience of the Belfast riots, it would be difficult to name any permanent strength of police force that would at all times be adequate for the preservation of order if thus deprived of its special constable supports (para. 192 and 196).

305. The magistrates were, during the disturbed periods, repeatedly urged to organize the law-abiding citizens, and to arm them with the powers, privileges, and protection granted to special constables by Act 2 and 3, Will. IV., chap. 108 (amended by Act 11 and 12 Vict., chap. 72). Had this very reasonable request been at once granted, it would undoubtedly have enabled the hurgemes and others to perform their duty to the State by aiding the civil power to protect property and preserve order, a task which the permanent paid forces without such assistance proved quite incapable of fulfilling.

306. The paid magistrates and the responsible police officials were, however, strongly opposed to any such enrolment, and as it must have rested with the police executive to render the organization efficient, the local magistracy possibly acted wisely in not allowing the enrolment to be made in the face of such opposition.

307. Prior to the more general adoption (since 1835, 1840, and 1857) of paid constabulary forces throughout the United Kingdom, the propriety of enrolling the citizens as special constables to repress disorder could never be called in question, as, fortunately for

the growth of our free and self-governing institutions, they formed the very backbone of our entire local police system (Supplement E).

308. The paid police forces having been established to assist the people, and to partially relieve them of a duty which was becoming too burdensome, we find that the legislature, both contemporaneously with the Police Acts and subsequently, amended the statutes relating to special constables, in order to facilitate their enrolment and to increase their efficiency. It cannot, therefore, have been contemplated that the paid servant should altogether supersede the employer whom he was appointed to assist. Yet we are satisfied that this has already been the practical effect in the Town of Belfast, and that the ineffective action of the civil power for the preservation and restoration of order during July was in a great measure due to all local unpaid services having been too completely set aside.

309. The eagerness of the bulk of the people to aid the authorities in keeping the peace was repeatedly manifested. Perhaps one of the most striking and earliest instances of this general feeling was their thorough co-operation in regard to the arrangements for the funerals on the 12th June (para. 132, 133). Another instance was the obedience they showed to the Mayor's proclamation of the 14th July (par. 160); and again, the ready assent of the Queen's Island workmen to the suggestion made on the 16th August that they should in future proceed homewards by two separate routes, and in small parties, instead of marching in a compact body through North-street. Throughout the whole of our inquiry the resident magistrates, the military, and the police bore abundant testimony to the assistance rendered on different occasions by the law-abiding citizens belonging to both parties, and especially by the Home Rule and Roman Catholic party, when under the personal influence of their zealous clergy.

310. Strange as it may seem, the police and other authorities professed their readiness to welcome the assistance of any law-abiding citizens who might voluntarily associate for the preservation of order, thus apparently ignoring the fact that any such voluntary system must lack all the elements of discipline and organization essential for efficiency, also that these people would be acting without the necessary legal powers, and without that legal protection afforded by Sect. 11, Act 2 and 3, Will. IV., chap. 108, which renders a person liable to a penalty of £20 for assaulting any special constable when in the execution of his duty. We can only view such an invitation as both a snare and a delusion, and as adding to the great injustice which, in our opinion—and we feel that we cannot express it too strongly—the citizens of Belfast were subjected to by being thus distrusted, and compelled to remain inactive whilst the ruffianly coven and youngsters of the population were rioting, wrecking, and looting, thus disgracing the borough, destroying trade, and subjecting these same citizens to heavy liabilities for compensation.

311. We believe that the law, which imposes on the citizens this liability to pay compensation for malicious injuries, is based upon the principle that the State holds the people responsible for protecting the property of their neighbours, either by maintaining an efficient police force or by themselves acting in that capacity as special constables. We consider that the burgesses of the borough of Belfast, in the case of these disturbances, have been compelled to pay compensation for damage, not through any failure on their part, but because they have not been permitted to perform the duty which the State properly expects from them.

312. We are unable to adopt the view that the State cannot obtain good and valuable services except from its permanent paid servants, and we believe that a people will be law-abiding and law-loving in a greater degree if they as citizens have a fair share both in administering and in enforcing the laws. In our opinion the circumstances revealed in the course of the Belfast disturbances point to the imperative necessity for maintaining unimpaired the local and unpaid services, both for magistracy and police; and that it is from these that all paid substitutes must in great measure derive their local influence, and in times of difficulty obtain support and increase of strength.

Bell,
8043—8048
Demsey,
11,414.

Rev. J.
Tohill.
1001—1004
Insp.-Gen.
Reed,
5915
Gardiner,
9370.
Coddell,
5915,
5945,
Parbes,
4178—4180
Reed
8830.

Cory,
15463.
Rev. Dr.
Johnston,
5642.
Townsend,
1513, 1514.

Insp.-Gen.
Reed,
7335.

WHETHER ANY AND WHAT STEPS OUGHT TO BE TAKEN, AND WHETHER ANY AND WHAT CHANGES OUGHT TO BE MADE IN THE LOCAL, MAGISTERIAL, AND POLICE JURISDICTION, ARRANGEMENTS, AND ESTABLISHMENT, WITH A VIEW TO THE BETTER PRESERVATION OF THE PUBLIC PEACE, AND THE PREVENTION OR PROMPT SUPPRESSION OF RIOT AND DISORDER.

313. In reporting on the eight previous headings of this inquiry, we have anxiously endeavoured to bring under review all the information of any importance which we have elicited in the course of our investigation, and as we hope this may be found sufficiently complete to enable others to draw therefrom just and sound conclusions, we have the less hesitation in submitting to your Excellency the opinions we have formed as to the steps which it is desirable should be taken, and the changes which should be made with a view to the better preservation of the public peace, and the prevention or prompt suppression of riot and disorder in the town of Belfast.

314. Many of the points to which we shall refer are more or less of a technical character, and to avoid mis-interpretation we shall frequently have to go beyond a mere general expression of opinion, and make more plain the nature of the reform we advocate, by detailing the action we would ourselves take to effect it.

315. We propose to refer to the principal points in the following order:—

- As to one Stipendiary or salaried Police Magistrate to be appointed for the Borough of Belfast (par. 316).
- As to the supervision of the town police force by a magisterial Police Board (par. 321).
- As to the Commissioner of Police for the Borough of Belfast (par. 326).
- As to the deputy commissioner of police for the Borough of Belfast, and other district inspectors (par. 327).
- As to head constables (par. 331).
- As to sergeants, acting sergeants, "senior constables," and constables (par. 332).
- As to the strength recommended for the town police force (par. 335).
- As to the disposition of the town police force and its police stations (par. 336).
- As to telephone communication (par. 345).
- As to the arming and training of the town police force (par. 347).
- As to the general duties of the town police force (par. 361).
- As to special constables in the Borough of Belfast (par. 375).
- As to the use of military in aid of the civil power (par. 383).
- As to armed firing parties if used to support the police (par. 386).
- As to bands or other music on the streets (par. 388).
- As to compensation for malicious injuries (par. 391).
- As to search for Arms (par. 400).
- As to closing public houses and licensed spirit grocers (par. 405).

316. *As to one Stipendiary or salaried Police Magistrate to be appointed for the Borough of Belfast.*—The present and long-established practice of appointing as resident magistrates in the Borough of Belfast gentlemen who are not Barristers at Law should be discontinued; and in future the salary for any resident magistrate, if appointed to act in the police courts of the Borough of Belfast, should not be defrayed out of the consolidated fund.

317. The attention of the Town Council of the Borough of Belfast should be directed to Section 158, Act 3, 4 Vict., cap. 108, *Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act, 1840*, which provides for the appointment of one or more stipendiary or salaried police magistrates, who shall be Barristers at Law of not less than six years' standing.

318. The Town Council should be strongly advised to at once make a bye-law fixing such salary for one police magistrate as shall be fully adequate to his responsible office, and to transmit the bye-law so made to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a view to the appointment of a fit person as aforementioned to be the police magistrate and a justice of the peace for the borough.

319. If the Town Council fail to make such bye-law, or if the salary fixed be inadequate, then it may be expedient to appoint as the one resident magistrate for the Town of Belfast a gentleman having the required legal qualification, and to obtain statutory powers to charge to the borough funds such salary as may be found adequate.

320. In connection with the foregoing appointment of a trained lawyer as stipendiary magistrate, we may mention that in Leeds the salary of the one stipendiary is fixed at

£1,250, and in Liverpool it is £1,750; and the corporation of the latter city also pay for a deputy when the magistrate is on vacation. It is a matter of common knowledge that the work of the police courts in most large boroughs is admirably performed by the borough magistrates and one stipendiary; and we are fully satisfied that if one police magistrate with high legal qualifications be constantly associated with the work of the police courts in Belfast, he and the other local magistrates will, as elsewhere, readily arrange for the business of these courts being transacted in such a way as to ensure justice within and confidence without.

321. *As to the supervision of the town police force by a magisterial Police Board.*—Steps should be taken to secure the immediate formation of a magisterial Police Board, as a local police authority, to whom the Lord Lieutenant may during his pleasure delegate the duty of exercising, on behalf of the State, general supervision over all police matters within the Borough of Belfast.

322. The Police Board might be constituted somewhat on the following basis:—

Pop. 204,000, census 1861.
Number of
Representatives.

1st. No one to be eligible for nomination to the Board unless already qualified as a Justice of the Peace.	
2nd. The Town Council to nominate (either from within or without its own body) magisterial representatives in the proportion of one to every 40,000 and fraction of 40,000 of the population at the preceding census,	6
3rd. The Lord Lieutenant or Central Executive to nominate magisterial representatives in the proportion of one to every complete 50,000 of the population at the preceding census,	4
4th. Any local board (such as Harbour Board or Water Commissioners) exercising statutory powers within the borough (if specially authorized by the Lord Lieutenant) to be allowed to nominate one magisterial representative,	2
5th. The following gentlemen to be <i>ex officio</i> members of the Board, viz.: the Mayor as president; the inspector general of constabulary or his deputy; one stipendiary magistrate in Belfast,	3
Total number of members on the Belfast magisterial Police Board if constituted as above,	15

The local Police Board, if constituted as above (according to census 1831), would consist of 15 members in all: viz., 6 nominated by the Town Council, 4 by the Central Executive, 2 by other local authorities, and 3 *ex officio* members.

323. The commissioner or other chief officer of the town police force should be instructed to attend the periodical and other meetings of the Police Board;—to make to the Board a quarterly report on the state of crime in the borough;—to report to the Board from time to time on all matters respecting which they may properly inquire of him concerning the police of the borough;—and he should transmit to the Chief Secretary for Ireland a copy of such reports, and of any minute made thereon by the Board.

324. The executive in Dublin and the inspector general of constabulary should in future look to the Police Board for advice on all local matters of police administration, with a view of transferring to them at some convenient time the maintenance and management of police buildings and kindred matters of a purely local character.

325. The clerk to the magistrates to be appointed to act as clerk to the Police Board, and his salary and other expenses to be defrayed by the borough treasurer.

326. *As to the commissioner of police for the borough of Belfast.*—The chief officer of the town police force should be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, during his pleasure, on the recommendation of the inspector general of constabulary;—he should act on their behalf as the commissioner of police for the borough of Belfast;—he should under all circumstances (subject only to the direction of the inspector general) exercise within Belfast supreme control over the police forces, except in regard to appointments, promotions, reductions, removals, or dismissals, and as to these he should be required to submit his recommendations to the inspector general;—he should be responsible to the inspector general, but to no other officer, for every detail of the executive action of the town police force.

327. *As to the deputy commissioner of police for the borough of Belfast, and other district inspectors.*—A fifth district inspector should be appointed for town duties, and the commissioner of police should be empowered to appoint, during his pleasure and subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, any one of the five district inspectors to be

Habesh,
12345.
Swart,
12763.
12765.

Sir Ed.
Harland,
1657.

Swart,
1266

Bailey, 61.

Rev. J.
Tobin,
14456.
Insp.-Gen.
Reed, 7683.
Swart,
12662.
Carr, 633
et seq.
454 et seq.

deputy commissioner of police within the borough, and so long as this district inspector holds such appointment he should have precedence of all other district inspectors in Belfast, irrespective of seniority (par. 283).

328. The deputy commissioner of police should supervise the investigation of crimes within the borough; he should generally assist the commissioner, and he should be kept fully informed as to all details of the police arrangements.

329. In the temporary absence of the commissioner, or on any vacancy occurring in that office by death, sickness, or other cause, the deputy commissioner should be empowered to act as the commissioner of police for the borough during any period not exceeding three months from the date of such vacancy.

330. The town to be divided for police purposes into four districts as heretofore, and 1 district inspector to be assigned to each district.

331. *As to head constables.*—4 head constables should be appointed to each district, and might be employed daily thus:—1 head constable in charge of the district headquarters, and 3 on outside supervision, so that the street duties would be under the constant care of a head constable. Also, 6 head constables should be appointed to the headquarters staff, and be disposed of thus:—2 to command the mounted sections, and to exercise general mounted supervision throughout the town; 1 in subordinate charge of the investigating or detective duties; 3 available for reserve and general purposes, such as filling vacancies or otherwise. This would necessitate 11 head constables being added, and would raise the authorised number from 11 to 22.

332. *As to sergeants, acting sergeants, "senior constables," and constables.*—In consequence of the lamentable events of last year, it may be expected that the police in certain parts of the town will occasionally for some time to come meet with exceptional difficulties in the discharge of their duties, and it is therefore expedient to appreciably increase the strength of the town police force by the addition of 7 sergeants and 50 constables. Such present increases should, however, be recognised as allowing a fair margin, which at some future time may wholly or partially meet the growing demands caused by extension of boundaries or otherwise.

333. In order to secure the effective handling of the police, more particularly on occasions when, after charging to disperse a crowd, they must necessarily break up into small groups and act three or four together for the clearance of side streets and retention of prisoners, a superior rank of constable should be instituted locally for the town under the designation of *senior constable*, and these should exercise distinct command over their comrades. The superior local rank of senior constable need not in any way affect the rates of ordinary pay, which may be regulated as heretofore solely by length of service (par. 362).

334. The commissioner of police might be empowered by the Lord Lieutenant to confer the local rank of *senior constable* on any man with over three years' service, whose energy, ability, and judgment qualify him to exercise responsible authority. It would be desirable that fully one-fourth or perhaps one-third of the constables should hold the superior rank of senior constable. Senior constables should be distinguished when in uniform by one gold chevron or stripe on the sleeve of their tunic; and this should help to remind them of their increased responsibility, and should thus render them more efficient when required to exercise authority over other constables in the absence of any superior. At present all constables take precedence of one another according to length of service.

335. *As to the strength recommended for the town police force.*—If the aforementioned additions are carried out, the police force for the Borough of Belfast would number—5 district inspectors; 22 head constables; 92 sergeants; 30 acting sergeants; and 523 senior constables and constables;—total, 672.

336. *As to the disposition of the town police force and its "police stations."*—Considerable improvement might be made in the headquarters accommodation. The offices for the commissioner of police, and every other provision for the staff should, if practicable, be associated either with the most central district police station or with the municipal buildings and police courts.

337. The present system of disposing of the force in several small detached barracks should be discontinued, and in lieu thereof there should be established one general police station in each district;—and in each of the other localities, where small barracks are now fixed, 6 houses for married men should be either leased or built in the same terrace or block (adjacent or convenient to one another) for accommodating 3 sergeants and 4 constables, and these we may term "*detached sub-sections*." Thus fully 40 sergeants and 80 constables might be advantageously disposed of in 20 different parts of the town. A uniform scale of rent should be charged to these men, and this should be rather less than, or in no case exceed, what they would require to pay if providing their own accommodation.

Townsend,
1884.

Chair, 16839

Chair,
18641.

Sir Ed.
Harland,
1876.
Insp.-Gen.
Reed, 4452.

Insp.-Gen.
Reed,
1963 (b).
1963 (b).
1922-1923
1923.

338. The official department in each of the four district police stations should be complete with every requisite for working an efficient police service—including ample accommodation for offices, muster-room, guard-room, store-room, lamp-room, waiting-room, cells, and other general purposes. Each building should also comprise a thoroughly secure and conveniently arranged armoury, magazine, pistol-shooting range, drill shed, and gymnasium.

Sir Ed.
Harland,
1875.

Imp.-Gen.
Recd.,
1066 (b).

339. In the police property attached to each of these four stations there should be provided—the necessary living accommodation for all the single head constables, sergeants, and constables of the district,—and commodious houses for at least 2 married head constables and 6 married sergeants.

1875.

340. The single men's quarters should be designed with every regard to the comfort, privacy, and health of the men, and with the main object of providing a settled and attractive home in which they would at all times freely enjoy relaxation, amusement, or rest.

341. At present we find that the men in barracks have to change bed-rooms twice in three months, viz., when commencing and ending their month of night duty. This is done in order that those who are on night duty may have a quiet and dark room to sleep in during the day. In the future care should be taken to avoid the necessity for these changes.

Townsend,
1848.

342. Having regard to the foregoing and generally to the irregular hours and broken rest caused by police duties, the more perfect sleeping arrangement seems to be that system of separation which enables each man to independently regulate the light, ventilation, and quietude of his sleeping berth (for example, the Wandsworth Police Station in London). If, however, such system is impracticable owing to limited space or other cause, then, in any case, the dormitory accommodation for the town police force ought not to require more than from 2 to 6 men to occupy any undivided apartment. We attach special importance to these matters, for, if neglected, the efficiency of the police force must suffer, and more especially so whenever any emergency necessitates long hours of extra duty, as the fatigued constables will not be able to secure the full benefit of their short hours of rest.

Beath,
2540—2543

343. Sufficient stabling should be provided at each district police station, not only for all horses in permanent charge of the police of the district, but for at least six additional, so that if occasion arises for using extra horses they may be kept at hand. Each district should be supplied with a suitable pair-horse patrol-brake, capable of carrying 20 men, and a lighter single conveyance to carry 8 men; these should be freely used for the movement of constables and the conveyance of prisoners.

344. In each detached sub-section (of married men) the senior sergeant's house should have one accessible and suitable room set apart to serve both as the sergeant's office and as a waiting room for any of the police force. In some parts of the town these houses might with advantage be constructed as sub-police-stations with two cells for temporary detention of prisoners, but well built and planned so as to afford thorough structural security, and complete isolation from the family apartments.

Sir Ed.
Harland,
1875.

345. As to telephone communication.—The commissioner's office and the offices of the four district inspectors should be in telephone connection with one another by means of a separate underground wire from each district police station to the headquarters; and the commissioner's office and his private house should each be in connection with the Belfast Telephone Exchange.

1875.

Gen.
H. Moore,
5630.

346. The senior sergeant's house in every detached sub-section should be in telephone connection with the district police station, either directly by an overhead wire, or through the local telephone exchange; this would be merely to enable the sergeant or the men from the neighbouring beats to communicate with the district office. It might supply a local want, and also enable a cheaper contract to be made, if the Telephone Company were allowed to fit up at these places an automatic pay-box, and to use them as their "public call offices."

347. As to the arming and training of the town police force.—Every sergeant and constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary should be armed with two sets of weapons, namely, with a breech-loading rifle and side-arm for military defensive purposes, and a breech-loading, double-barrelled pistol and baton for police duty. The training of the force in the use of arms should be designed with a view of developing, as far as practicable, a maximum efficiency for both purposes.

Sir Ed.
Harland,
1875.
Imp.-Gen.
Recd., 5645.
Cur,
752—755

348. The rifle instruction and the military training should be kept entirely distinct from the organisation for police purposes; it should be viewed rather in the light of an extra training claimed from the Royal Irish Constabulary for the benefit of the State. The course of drills and instruction should be arranged for and carried out similarly to the training of the volunteer rifle regiments, without unduly occupying the time of

a purely civil force, such as the Royal Irish Constabulary was constituted and should ever remain. The efficiency thus attained should be reported upon by the military authorities.

349. For police purposes a rifle is worse than useless (par. 265), but a double-barrelled pistol with a simple breech-loading arrangement and good sighting would prove under all circumstances the most effective firearm for *self-defence*. As a few among many obvious reasons for this we may mention—

- (1.) It does not in the slightest degree interfere with the baton, which may be freely used until the period of serious danger is reached, and may be resumed the instant it is past;
- (2.) The constant practice, so essential to ensure accurate shooting, can be carried on without difficulty;
- (3.) Its comparatively limited range renders it (*in skilled hands*) less dangerous to unoffending people;
- (4.) It can be loaded with greater rapidity than a revolver;
- (5.) It can be handled with comparative safety;
- (6.) It is convenient to carry under any circumstances, and, even though unloaded, if it is suddenly drawn out and presented, its deterrent effect on a rioter will probably be the same as if it was loaded;
- (7.) It is *par excellence* the weapon for defence in a moment of extreme peril;
- (8.) Revolver firing with six barrels promotes unsteady careless shooting, but pistol firing tends to make men careful not to waste a shot;
- (9.) A revolver is seldom re-loaded until all barrels are discharged, and men not taking account of the number of shots fired may suddenly discover at a critical moment that they have emptied the last barrel, and hold in their hand a weapon which requires so long to re-load as to be useless for the occasion.

350. Every inducement should be held out and the utmost pains taken to encourage excellence in pistol shooting throughout the Royal Irish Constabulary; and the average standard of efficiency attained should be such as to earn for them a universal reputation, which, once established, will prove their best safeguard.

351. To give effect to the foregoing a complete pistol range is required at each district police station, and every man should be allowed a liberal supply of ammunition for practising (under qualified instructors) both at a fixed target and at an advancing figure. Prize competitions for awarding marksmen's badges should be instituted, and every means used to promote interest in these tests of skill.

352. The rifles and side arms should at all times (including the drill season) be carefully kept in the rifle armoury of each district police station, under the charge of a qualified armorer. The senior constables, all above that grade, and all constables who attain marksmen's badges, should have the care of their pistols, which should be kept in a secure lockfast place set apart for the purpose in each police building. The pistols issued to other constables should be in charge of the district pistol instructor.

353. The pistols should be constantly ready for immediate use, but should not be worn on ordinary street duty except by written order of the commissioner of police, and a copy of such order should be invariably sent to the inspector general, and to the police board for their information.

354. The *police pistol* should be worn in a cartridge carrying belt at the back, convenient for drawing out with the left hand, the handle to be attached to the upper part or shoulder of tunic by means of a lanyard passing under the left arm.

355. In the *training for police purposes*, special account should be taken of the fact that the police in their more active work almost invariably find themselves engaged in *personal* hand to hand conflict, and at such times they are legally clothed with restricted offensive and unlimited defensive powers; and for the use that each one makes of these he may be held more or less responsible both to the civil and criminal law; and thus there is a marked difference between these—the every-day circumstances of active police work—and any of those circumstances which military training is designed to cope with.

356. The effective action and success of the police on such occasions not only requires that tact, sound judgment, and self-reliance shall be developed to a high degree in each member of the force, but that mutual confidence and rapid united action shall be fully secured amongst—small "guards" of 3 or 4 men,—small sections of 2 or 3 guards, viz., 6 to 12 men,—and companies of 3 or 4 sections, viz., 18 to 48 men (Supplement F 1).

357. The police drill exercises should be exclusively confined to the following:—viz., the use of the baton or pistol *in either* hand, practised in line, in "guard," and singly;

Adm., 5551
Curran,
3923-3923

Cory,
15441—
15442.
Townsend,
1315.

—running exercise;—wrestling;—and special instruction graduating each man in the habit of command—1st, of self; 2nd, of guard; 3rd, of section or company. All setting-up drills and military steps or motions should be prohibited, as they detract from general police efficiency.

358. The whole training and system of the police should be designed to ensure that, however quick and unexpected the movements of the riotous sections may be, the corresponding movement, whether by the individual constable, by the guard, by the section, or by the company, shall be more rapid in execution, more unexpected in its further development, and more decisive in its final action than the movements of any hydra-headed undisciplined mob can possibly be. Moreover, that such action shall, throughout its every stage,—at every point,—and at every moment, be directed by the one man who happens to be there and thus temporarily responsible.

359. The efficiency of this training will depend not so much on the mere drill as on the organization and general working of the police force. Intimate mutual knowledge and understanding of one another must be acquired as far as practicable by all members of the town force, both officers and men, in order that all may co-operate more confidently in moments of difficulty.

360. The "guard," consisting of 1 senior constable and either 2 or 3 constables, should form the unit or base of the entire town police system, and should not only govern the distribution of duties and the drill formation for baton exercise, but as far as possible it must regulate the living accommodation and every general arrangement of the men,—thus binding the same comrades in constant association for every purpose. If thus worked, each "guard" well trained in the use of the baton, and acting under a smart senior constable, will be found a host in itself (Supplement F 1).

361. As to the general duties of the town police force.—The commissioner of police should prepare a Code of Local Regulations for the guidance of the town police force. These regulations, before coming into operation, should be submitted, 1st, to the police board for their consideration and report; 2nd, to the inspector general for revision; 3rd, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for his approval.

362. The extra charge of 6d. per night, hitherto paid by the town for night watching, should not be assigned to the men as a special allowance for the performance of this ordinary police duty, but this local charge (having been established) should in future be levied and disbursed as increased local pay, at the rate of 1s. 2d. per week additional to every sergeant, acting sergeant, and senior constable, and 7d. per week additional to every other constable. This scale of local payment would assist to emphasize the additional local responsibilities resting on the three first mentioned grades (par. 333).

363. The commissioner of police should thoroughly revise the system of watching and beat duty (par. 279). The street force at present averages only 6 hours street duty in every 24 hours throughout the year, and if this average be increased to 7½ hours, which is the same as that assigned daily to the men of the Dublin Metropolitan police force, and is less than that of most other forces, then the additional duty thus performed would be practically equivalent to the services of 100 extra men working on the existing system (Supplement B B 2).

364. As already stated (par. 283), the town requires, in addition to the protection afforded by a regular beat-duty force, a limited system of extra police pickets, for duty from 6 A.M. to 7 A.M.,—from 1 P.M. to 2 P.M.,—from 5 P.M. to midnight; and also that there should be a small reliable reserve force in each district, readily available throughout the 24 hours, and in uniform from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M. Any effective scheme of beat duty for the town force should supply all these requirements, and, as far as practicable, the whole of the town police force, except the mounted section, the headquarter, detective, and clerical staffs, should be included and worked in the beat-duty divisions. One or more of the day beat-duty divisions should be drawn upon for all additional watching and incidental duties (vide Supplement B B 1).

365. The detection of crime should devolve upon the whole of the town police, and the street-duty force should not be compelled to act as mere watchmen and guardians of the peace, but all qualified men should be entrusted as occasions arise to pursue inquiry under suitable disguise or otherwise. It should be the special duty of the detective staff to collect and focus all information for the benefit of the entire force; they should also attend generally to the criminal records and to the identification of prisoners, and otherwise assist in the investigation of all crime.

366. In times of disturbance, in order to facilitate detections and arrests, a number of the town police force should invariably be required to assume the general appearance of the roughs, and to mix freely with the riotous sections. Nothing is more certain to paralyse the arm of the rascally stone-throwers than a doubt whether the two unkempt, ruffian-looking fellows near hand may be law officers; and every powerful-looking man, if

Sir Ed.
Harcourt,
7613, 7614.

Cur,
7625—767.

Sir Ed.
Harcourt,
7671,
7677.

7326.

Imp.-Gen.
Head,
6947—6949

unknown, will be readily suspected as a disguised member of the town police force, and will be unconsciously aiding the *homo fide* plain clothes constables.

367. We believe that the prisoners who were brought before the police courts were in most cases very properly and effectively dealt with, but the statutory powers for dealing summarily with offences against the public peace, apparently require to be extended in their scope, so as to include any offence arising out of riotous conduct which it may be thought expedient to deal with summarily. Whilst we recognise that the law may with advantage be made more comprehensive, we can see no necessity for increasing the severity of the punishments thus summarily inflicted, beyond what the justices may now usually adjudge. The great failure in justice (more especially during the early period of the disturbances) was due not to any inadequacy of punishment, but to the paucity of arrests (Appendix B, p. 377).

368. Whilst the detective staff numbers only 12 men, the detective police force should be as near as possible number 672.

369. The number of horses on the police establishment should be increased from 18 to 24, and these should be used both for draught and for mounted police purposes. 48 of the town police force should be trained for mounted duties, and should have the care and use of these horses every alternate month. The horses should be allocated thus; 4 horses to each district, at the disposal of the district inspector, who would keep them in constant use for "police carriage," mounted patrol, or other mounted duty; 8 horses to the headquarter staff, at the disposal of the commissioner and his deputy, who would keep these also in constant use for the supervision of the streets at busy hours, and the maintenance of order generally throughout the town.

370. In some districts on Saturday evenings, and generally on any day of special excitement, draught horses, with drivers for "police carriage," should be obtained by contract from the tramway or other stables, so that the district horses may all be available for mounted duty on the streets. For the better protection of the drivers when thus engaged on police service it might be expedient to enrol them as special constables.

371. On particular occasions, when there is reason to adopt special precautions for the preservation of order, the available mounted strength should be increased to 48, and for this purpose 24 additional horses might be obtained for temporary use either from the Dublin Depot, the cavalry stables, or from horse proprietors by an annual agreement, but in the latter case provision should be made for the horses having at least three weeks training in each year.

372. We may observe that for dealing with crowds, or acting against a mob, mounted police are in our opinion invaluable; but they should be well trained and their horses kept in constant exercise. The moral effect produced by the appearance of a troop of cavalry may in the first instance be greater than that of any mounted police force; but for actual police work, mounted constables will be found far more useful, as they can act under the orders of any police officer, can be sub-divided and detached in small or large bodies, and moreover they possess all the local knowledge and legal powers necessary for any duty.

373. We notice that apparently there is no special provision made for the appointment of additional constables at the charge of any person or persons who may make application setting forth the necessity thereof. Such powers are conferred by the Police Acts both in England and Scotland, and are found in many cases specially useful by the managers of large industries, who thus secure the services of thoroughly competent and disciplined men, having all the powers and privileges of the other constables. They use these additional constables either to enforce regulations,—to watch their works,—or to act as factors or sub-agents for the houses appropriated to their workmen. We are satisfied that it would prove of mutual advantage to many employers in Belfast, to the harbour board, and to the Royal Irish Constabulary if the services of members of that force were similarly utilised.

374. Each member of the town police force should be supplied with a police whistle and police lantern of improved pattern, which may be generally worn at night. This may seem a trivial detail, but the fact that these lanterns are not at present supplied rather indicates to us that the necessities of the local police service require to be more closely supervised.

375. *As to special constables in the Borough of Belfast.*—The commissioner of police should, on a specified day in January of each year, submit to the police board for their consideration a separate and carefully prepared descriptive list for each of the four Police Districts, giving for each district the names, addresses, and occupations of 500 men between the ages of 21 and 45 years, resident in the respective districts, and fully qualified to act as special constables. At a general meeting of the Justices of the Peace for the borough, to be held subsequently in the same month, the commissioner of police should submit these

lists to the Justices that they may (as provided by Act 2 and 3, Will. IV., cap. 103) at their pleasure nominate and appoint these 2,000 eligible persons to act as special constables for the preservation of the public peace, the protection of the inhabitants, and the security of property in the Borough of Belfast for the period of one year.

376. The census returns of 1881 for the Borough of Belfast show the male population between 20 and 45 years of age then numbered 34,786, therefore the commissioner of police should not experience the slightest difficulty in obtaining 2,000 stalwart and active men, who would not only possess thorough local knowledge both of the town and of its inhabitants, but who would prove themselves in every other respect admirably fitted to discharge the primary functions of a police officer, for happily in this free country our police have the dual and co-ordinate duties to perform of not only maintaining order, but of protecting freedom by repressing any license or abuse of it.

377. The 500 special constables in each Police District should be immediately organised in 5 Special Constable Divisions, each consisting of 99 men under 1 commander. The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd S.C. Divisions may be used alternately, either on different days or during different periods of the same day, thus lightening the duty imposed on each; the 4th S.C. Division to be available as an extra reserve on any day; and the 5th S.C. Division to be used for filling vacancies in either of the other divisions.

378. Three places must be selected in each Police District as convenient for assembly, and these should be known as the A, B, and C rendezvous. Each S.C. Division should be arranged in 3 companies, A, B, and C,—each consisting of 30 men, residing more or less convenient to these places of rendezvous,—and each under 1 leader and 2 sub-leaders.

379. Every company should be told off in 3 sections—right, centre, and left—each consisting of 9 men and 1 section leader.

380. Every section should be in 3 guards, each consisting of 2 special constables under 1 senior special constable or guard leader.

381. Every special constable on making the declaration should be presented with his haton of office, made of tough wood, fully 21 inches in length, fitted with a leather thong for the wrist; and duly emblazoned with the Royal Arms or other emblem of State authority. It may be found expedient at the same time to issue an armlet embroidered with a distinctive badge, the number of the S.C. Division, and the letter of the company, for wear when on duty.

382. The means adopted for assembling special constables could be varied to meet circumstances; for instance, they might be called together by special printed notice addressed—either to each constable individually,—or to each senior constable to summon his guard,—or to each section-leader to notify the senior constables,—or by bugle-call sounding at the rendezvous.

383. *As to the use of military in aid of the civil power.*—The condition of derangement into which all the elements of civil power in Belfast were allowed to drift during the disturbances in June, July, and the first week of August, may, we fear, have been in some degree due to carelessness or indifference engendered by a knowledge of the fact that "happen what might," the military were available to supply all deficiencies and to retrieve all blunders; and we cannot help pondering that but for this mainstay the natural instincts of self preservation would have led to more united and consequently more effective action.

384. We are unable to account for the daily requisitioning of a picket of soldiers to perform ordinary police duty at the Alexandra Dock during August, September, and October, and whilst this imposed a very irksome duty on Her Majesty's troops, it tended in our opinion to give false prestige and *clat* to that small, contemptible, and cowardly gang which murdered the lad Curran and perpetrated the outrage on the old man John Johnstone.

385. We may suggest the desirability of establishing a definite rule that in every instance in which the military are called to aid the civil power, a searching and independent investigation shall be instituted as to the circumstances under which such assistance was requisitioned, and into the subsequent action taken both by the military and by the civil forces. Not only would much valuable experience be thus made of general use, but it would probably act as a sufficient check upon the unnecessary use of the military forces of the State.

386. *As to armed firing parties if used to support the police.*—Lest on any occasion it should unhappily be found expedient to support the police with a Firing Party, it is very necessary that clear and definite regulations should be established in regard to the formation and handling of any men so used; and that these regulations should be known not only to the magistrates, the military, and the police, but also generally to the public.

Rev. Dr.
Hanna,
9453.
9593—9595

L'Esrange,
9501.
Lasp.—Gen.
Reed, 9527.
9527.

Collier, 1093

Rev. R.
Erwin, 9804
9890.

Shedden,
10016.
10052—
10054.

M'Kibbin,
10589.

Macney,
15196.
15222—
15250.

St. Ed.
Harland,
7803.
7874.

387. The following apply to some of the points which should in future be thus governed by very stringent regulations:—

- (1.) Every Firing Party should invariably act under the control of either one local unpaid Magistrate or one paid Magistrate.
- (2.) In towns and populous places it may be desirable and sufficient that the Firing Party should be armed with pistols only, and in such cases the Royal Irish Constabulary could be used; but wherever rifles are required the military, if available, should be called upon to furnish the necessary Firing Party or Parties.
- (3.) The strength of any Firing Party should seldom exceed 1 commissioned, 2 non-commissioned officers, and 24 privates, accompanied in every instance by 1 hugler.
- (4.) Great foresight and care must be exercised to guard against the possibility of the police being cut off or hemmed in by a mob intervening betwixt them and the Firing Party acting as their support; and, if necessary, Firing Parties must be kept in readiness on different sides of the disturbed locality to enable the firing at any time to be conducted from whichever direction may be free from danger to the police.
- (5.) When consistent with the safety of the police, the Firing Party should as far as practicable be kept out of view, convenient to, but apart from, the scene of disorder, until necessity demands their intervention.
- (6.) The Magistrate, before advancing the Firing Party, should require them to load and the hugler to sound "a known signal," to warn the whole neighbouring community of his intention to use firearms.
- (7.) If on the arrival of the Firing Party the offenders continue to use criminal violence, the Magistrate must in no case suffer any appreciable delay, but he should at once order the officer to carry on firing to the best advantage by hugh calls—"To prepare"—"To commence"—"To cease." The officer must then be held strictly responsible for the efficient execution of this firing until the Magistrate orders him to terminate the firing. If practicable every order given by the Magistrate as to the firing should be in writing and signed, and if given verbally should be written out and handed to the officer as soon as convenient.
- (8.) In the extreme cases which necessitate the use of deadly arms against any number of Her Majesty's subjects, every element of uncertainty should as far as practicable be eliminated, and there must be no margin either for hesitation on the part of the responsible Magistrate, or doubt on the part of the people, as to the action to be taken by every Firing Party.

388. *As to bands or other music on the streets.*—Some general legislation is required to regulate but not necessarily to restrict the parading of bands of music through the public streets in or near to towns and populous places. It may be noticed from the minutes of evidence that bands turned out and played in the streets of Belfast at 4 A.M. and 10 P.M., or, in fact, at any hour day and night; and apparently the great difficulty in preserving order on such occasions arises from the police being unable to obtain a foreknowledge of their hours and movements.

389. This would be obviated if a law was passed (applicable to all towns and populous places throughout the United Kingdom) requiring 48 hours' or other prescribed notice, with full particulars, to be lodged with the chief of police; and enacting that, if from any sufficient cause this prescribed notice has not been given, then it shall be an offence to make a public parade with music unless a written permit has been previously obtained from such magisterial or police authority as the Act may entrust with discretionary powers (vide Supplement F 2.).

390. If it should happen that this subject is to be dealt with by special legislation, perhaps it would be well at the same time to consider whether it is expedient to make further provision to ensure timely notice being given to the magisterial authorities of any intended large procession, demonstration, or gathering of the people, in order that all due precaution may be taken to protect their freedom and that of the rest of the community.

391. *As to compensation for malicious injuries.*—The Town Council of Belfast may, under their local Act of 1865, award compensation for malicious injuries to property, whether consequent on riot or otherwise, and such awards are defrayed by means of a rate levied on the ratepayers throughout the borough. If the Town Council fail to award any compensation, the claimant may appeal to the judge at the next ensuing assize for the county of Antrim; but if any sum is awarded, however small, there is no appeal from the Town Council's decision.

See Ed.
Barland,
7579.
Do.
Deaspey,
11473.
Insp.-Gen.
Reed, 7251.
Forbes,
4142.

392. Claims for compensation for malicious injuries to property in England under the Riot (Damages) Act of 1886 are made to the local police authority, and the claimant, if aggrieved, either by the failure to award compensation, or by the amount fixed, has his remedy by an action against the police authority; but if he fails to recover more than that fixed by their decision, he is required to pay the costs of the police authority as between solicitor and client.

393. In the case of Belfast we consider that all claims for compensation for malicious injuries to property should be disposed of by the police board (par. 321), and that any aggrieved claimant should have his remedy in a like manner to that given by the Act we have referred to (par. 392).

394. It appears that the persons, whose property was attacked during these Belfast disturbances, in most cases made no active personal effort to defend their shops or goods, and they received no protection whatever from their neighbours. Our attention was also directed to the practice, so rapidly extending amongst tradesmen, of omitting to provide any protection beyond mere plate glass to their shops.

395. The general adoption of paid police forces has, we think, of late years done much to weaken the sense of responsibility which formerly existed on the part of both the individual proprietors and the general public, in respect to the security and protection of property, and this carelessness or indifference is, we fear, creating a serious danger which urgently demands early consideration. Any future legislation on this subject should, we think, be so framed as to require every claimant to satisfy the police authority, not only that his property was provided with ample structural and lockfast security, but that he and all in his employ used every reasonable and lawful means to defend it. Failing this, that the police authority should in every case refuse to award compensation for goods or moveable property.

396. We are disposed to question the expediency of allowing a claimant under any circumstances to recover his whole loss. If the law only enabled him to recover three-fourths or five-sixths, not only would he have a more direct interest in defending his own, but possibly wicked and designing people might not find such ready hands to work injury against an individual, as may be the case now when it is only too well-known that the whole loss is ultimately borne by the ratepayers, and that the individual may be merely a nominal sufferer.

397. Again, in regard to the law as to awarding compensation under certain circumstances for malicious injury sustained by any magistrate, peace officer, or witness, it appears that the power to make such award is practically inoperative in respect to the borough of Belfast, as the statute provides that the grand jury shall raise the necessary sum by county cess over a whole county, or over a whole barony, and not only does Belfast come under neither of these definitions, but the Grand Juries of both County Antrim and County Down have, by local Acts of 1865 and 1868, been deprived of all power to levy any county cess over the rateable property within the borough of Belfast.

398. If future legislation is directed at any time to the removal of this anomaly, it may we think be expedient to deal with other matters in connection with this compensation for malicious injuries to persons. It was mentioned to us that the compensation is limited to witnesses, magistrates, and peace officers; and that no compensation can now be awarded even to a soldier although he might receive injury when engaged in the defence of one of these persons or otherwise aiding the civil power.

399. Under proper safeguards as to review and appeal, it might be more just if power was given to award compensation in every case where any person, without his or her own default, sustains personal injury through any action (not on his or her behalf) taken by himself or by others to aid the civil power in preserving the public peace or bringing offenders to justice, irrespective of whether the act which caused such injury was maliciously done.

400. As to search for arms.—Under the provisions of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Acts, 1881 and 1886, a warrant may be issued by the Lord Lieutenant to any person named in such warrant directing him to search houses, buildings, and places specified in the warrant, for any arms suspected to be therein, in contravention of these Acts.

401. The person named in such warrant, with such constables and other persons as he calls to his assistance, may, within ten days next after the date of the warrant, at any time between sunrise and sunset enter the premises thus specified (if necessary, by force) and there execute the warrant.

402. It was represented to us that the present law was in this respect "perfectly useless as far as a town like Belfast is concerned," and it was suggested that the statute requires a separate warrant to be got not only for each house, but addressed to each person in the house by name. If this is so, it would be well to amend the law so as to enable the same warrant to specify several houses, buildings, and places,

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1362, 1363.
Imp.-Gen.
Reed,
6826,
6877.

and to make every warrant apply to every person found in premises thus specified; but it is right to observe that, in our opinion, no such amendment of the law is necessary, as these details appear to us fully provided for in the Acts referred to, and we are at a loss to understand how the language in these Acts can be reasonably interpreted in the limited sense which was suggested.

403. It may be noticed that the Act only provides for naming one person to conduct the search; it might be convenient that power should be given to name a number of persons, and to enact that any one of these might conduct the search.

404. If the interpretation which we put upon the language of these Acts is correct, we consider that the powers conferred by them are ample for the purposes to which they are intended to apply, and, except in the one comparatively trifling detail last mentioned, we would deprecate any further extension of these powers of search, unless indeed it shall at the same time be provided that no search warrant be in future granted except on sworn information, stating good grounds for suspecting a contravention of the Act in relation to the houses, buildings, or places to be searched.

405. *As to closing public houses and licensed spirit grocers.*—We think it proper to call attention to Act 3 and 4 William IV., cap. 68, sec. 21, conferring powers on justices to close public houses during times of disturbance and riot. These restrictions apparently do not apply to licensed spirit grocers, and consequently in some instances the closing of the ordinary public house traffic may fail to promote temperance.

406. Various circumstances during the disturbances in Belfast indicate the necessity for carefully considering the relative responsibility and duties resting upon—the magistracy—any one magistrate—and the superior officers of police forces respectively.

407. The right of any one magistrate to control the police would, if exercised, destroy the responsibility which should attach to a superior officer of police, and under certain circumstances this might result in disaster. Where there is a local police authority responsible for the maintenance of an efficient police force, this authority probably acts as a check on any undue interference by individual magistrates with that force, but any such safeguard must be accidental and uncertain.

408. The exact measure of responsibility resting on a magistrate and a police officer, and the proper sphere of their respective action cannot be too clearly defined. We think that the magistrates should govern in their collective capacity,—that the superior officers of police should act for the preservation of order, and enforce the regulations made by the magistrates, and be held strictly accountable and responsible for every detail of the executive action of the police,—and that magistrates should individually at all times supervise, and, if necessary, report on the action of the police, but that they should not exercise personal control.

409. The offices of a "justice of the peace" and of a "constable" should be kept distinct, and it is doubtful whether it is desirable to continue the practice of granting to the chief officer of a local police force a commission as "justice of the peace." If it is thought necessary to extend the powers of any such chief officer beyond that of a "constable," it may be well to consider whether a distinct commission as "conservator of the peace" should not be substituted for that of justice (Supplement E).

410. We hope that the local magistracy of Belfast will in future be able to look to one trained and experienced stipendiary magistrate for light and leading in all the business of their police courts, and that they will thus secure efficient administration of justice and uniform guidance in all their proceedings. Recent experience points very clearly to the inexpediency of unnecessarily multiplying magisterial or police offices in cases in which co-ordinate authority must be exercised in the same field.

411. We again direct attention to the fact that the high £10 municipal franchises apparently excludes the Roman Catholic population from any personal share in the government of the Borough of Belfast. Not only is this, in our opinion, detrimental to the general welfare of the community, but it assists designing people to keep alive those bitter memories of sectarian animosity which, in the distant past, have worked so much evil, but which are now evidently extinct, except amongst the ignorant or the depraved.

412. Having now fulfilled the trust confided to us by your Excellency, we desire, before closing this Report, to express our earnest hope that the people of Belfast may, by intimate association in the labours of local self-government, cultivate feelings of mutual respect and confidence, and that in the future they may be enabled in their daily experience to realise the great and memorable truth that—the State expects every man to do his duty.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's obedient servants,

WALLACE B. M'HARDY, Commander R.N.

R. M. HENNESSY,

Secretary.

HAMILTON, N.B., 26th March, 1887.

SUPPLEMENTS TO REPORT
ON THE
RIOTS IN BELFAST.

SPECIAL POWERS TO STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES.

The following is a Schedule of certain Acts of Parliament which confer more Extensive Powers upon the Resident Magistrates in Ireland than are invested in the Borough Magistrates.

Peace Preservation Acts - - -	- { 44 Vic, cap. 4, and 46 Vic, cap. 24 }	Two Stipendiaries sitting alone.
Army Act, 1861 - - -	- (44 and 45 Vic., cap. 58)	Two Justices or One Stipendiary.
Prevention of Crimes Act - - -	- (34 and 35 Vic., cap. 112)	Do.
Dogs Act - - -	- (28 Vic., cap. 50)	Do.
Licensing Act, - - -	- (35 and 36 Vic., cap. 94)	Do.
Factory and Workshops Act, 1875 - - -	- (41 Vic., cap. 16)	Do.
Protection of Infants Act - - -	- 25 and 36 Vic., cap. 38)	Do.
Larceny Act - - -	- (18 and 19 Vic., cap. 126)	Do.
Passengers ships Act - - -	- (18 and 19 Vic., cap. 116)	Do.
Pollute Act, 1871 - - -	- (34 and 35 Vic., cap. 96)	Do.
Public Health Act - - -	- (41 and 42 Vic., cap. 52)	Do.
Reformatory Schools Act - - -	- (31 and 32 Vic., cap. 59)	Do.
Reserve Forces Act, 1882 - - -	- (44 and 45 Vic., cap. 58)	Do.
Weights and Measures Act - - -	- (41 and 42 Vic., cap. 19)	Do.
Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) Act, 1884	(47 and 48 Vic., cap. 59)	Do.

SUPPLEMENT.

B 1.

TOWN OF BELFAST.

Return of Ammunition expended by the Constabulary at Bowershill on 9th June, 1886, showing Counties to which the men belonged by whom it was expended:—

PLACES TO WHICH THE MEN BELONGED.	ROUNDS EXPENDED.		REMARKS.
	Rd.	Shot.	
County Westmeath - - -	31	15	
County Londonderry - - -	7	4	
County Donegal - - -	1	4	
Town of Belfast - - -	89	39	
Total - - -	128	62	

Dated at Belfast, 26th January, 1887.

C. E. A. CAMERON,
County Inspector, for Town Inspector.

TOWN OF RETURN, SHEWING THE DEATHS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED CONSEQUENT ON

No.	Name	Occupation	Where, and in what Street injured?	On what date injured?	Where did Death occur?	On what date did Death occur?	State briefly what was written on the cause of Death.	Age at time of Death.
1	James Curran	Navy	Alexandra Gearing Dock	June 4	(Larimer Lagan, near the Alexandra Gearing Dock)	June 4	Drowned, in consequence of being driven into the water by a mob	17 years
2	Wm. Jas. Matthews	Farmer	Shankhill Road	" 9	Royal Hospital	" 10	From the effects of a gunshot wound	17 "
3	Mary Bally	Millworker and Washer	Do.	" 9	141 Shankhill Road	" 9	From the effects of a gunshot wound	50 "
4	James McCormick	Millworker	Do.	" 9	141 Shankhill Road	" 9	From the effects of a gunshot wound	18 "
5	James Kyle	Do.	Do.	" 9	Moscow Street	" 9	From the effects of a gunshot wound	15 "
6	Hugh Henderson	School boy	Do.	" 9	Dundas Street	" 9	From the effects of a gunshot wound	12 "
7	Mary McAllister	Waresoon worker	Do.	" 9	Moscow Street	" 9	From the effects of a gunshot wound	18 "
8	George Parker	Message boy	Do.	" 9	Royal Hospital	" 9	From the effects of a gunshot wound	16 "
9	Chas. F. Hughes	Private, West Surrey Regiment	Beckfield	July 14	Devin Street Barracks	July 14	From the effects of a bullet wound	21 "
10	Wm. Goodhue	Head Const., R.I. Consty.	Do.	" 14	Royal Hospital	" 14	From the effects of a bullet wound	45 "
11	James Watterson	Mechanic	Do.	" 13	38 Berkeley St.	" 13	From the effects of a gunshot wound	23 "
12	John Burns	Labourer	Do.	" 13	42 Hanna St.	" 21	From the effects of a gunshot wound	23 "
13	Wm. Kline	Message boy	Shankhill Road	" 31	Whilst lying on a stretcher to the Royal Hospital	" 31	From the effects of a gunshot wound	13 "
14	Edw. Black	Mechanic	York Street	Aug. 2	155 York St.	Aug. 2	From a perforated wound similar to a buckshot wound	17 "
15	Robt. Strain	Working-class	Old Lodge Road	" 7	Royal Hospital	" 9	From a gunshot wound	16 "

BELFAST.

INJURIES RECEIVED DURING RIOTS, FROM 4th JUNE TO 25th OCTOBER, 1886.

No.	NAME.	OCCUPATION.	Where, and to what Street injured?	On what date injured?	Where did Death occur?	On what date did Death occur?	State briefly what was certified as the cause of Death.	Age at time of Death.
16	John Edgeworth	Labourer	Perry Street	1886 Aug. 7	54 Shankhill Rd.	1886. Aug. 7	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	25 years.
17	John McAloney	Do.	Diamond Street	" 7	Royal Hospital	" 11	{ From the effects of a buckshot wound }	45 "
18	Elizabeth Cameron	School girl	Ashmore Street	" 8	183 Canmore St.	" 24	{ From the effects of a bullet wound }	8 "
19	Robert Wylie	Labourer	Springfield Rd.	" 8	Copar Street	" 8	{ From the effects of a bullet wound }	17 "
20	Wm. Nelson	Do.	Hamover Street	" 8	Hamover Street	" 8	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	35 "
21	Francis R. McIlwaine	Housewife	Israel Street	" 8	Israel Street	" 8	From a gunshot wound	30 "
22	Thos. Saunders	School boy	Old Lodge Rd.	" 8	30 Shankhill Rd.	" 8	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	14 "
23	John Harvey	Shoemaker	Do.	" 8	Royal Hospital	Oct. 13	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	33 "
24	Isaac W. Jackson	Linenapper	Do.	" 7	23 Loftus St.	Aug. 13	{ From effects of a buckshot wound }	22 "
25	James Hunter	Ironmoulder	Devonshire St.	" 8	Elizabeth St.	" 8	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	31 "
26	Owen Devlin	Labourer	Albert Street	" 8	{ Albert Crescent R.I.C. Barrack }	" 8	{ From the effects of a buckshot wound }	32 "
27	Wm. Darby	Do.	Nth. Edward St.	" 8	Royal Hospital	" 9	{ From the effects of a bullet wound }	40 "
28	Wm. Fortin	Do.	Tramway Depot	" 10	Do.	" 10	{ From injuries inflicted by a stall from a pitchfork }	40 "
29	Saml. McFarland	Mechanic	First Street	" 15	{ 257 Shankhill Road }	" 15	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	19 "
30	Thos. Boyle	Labourer	Divis Street	Sept. 19	Royal Hospital	Sept. 19	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	33 "
31	Cuth. Kelly	Millworker	Do.	" 19	Do.	" 19	{ From the effects of a gunshot wound }	19 "
32	Thos. Connolly	Butcher	Do.	" 19	Do.	Nov. 10	{ From the effects of a bullet wound }	38 "

DATED AT BELFAST, 16th January, 1887.

C. E. A. CAMERON,
G.I. for T. L. in Laws.

SUPPLEMENT.

22

Abstract of the Constabulary Returns, showing the Actual Disposal of the Belfast Police Force on the 31st May, 1886.

TOTAL OF BULFIST POLICE.					BULFIST POLICE FORCE.					NORTH DISTRICT.					EAST DISTRICT.					NORTH DISTRICT.					WEST DISTRICT.				
Head Constables.	Constables.	Sergeants.	Police Constables.	Police.	ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF DUTY ON THE 31st MAY, 1886.					Head Constables.	Constables.	Sergeants.	Police Constables.	Police.	Head Constables.	Constables.	Sergeants.	Police Constables.	Police.	Head Constables.	Constables.	Sergeants.	Police Constables.	Police.					
					IN CHARGE.																								
					DAY BEAT DUTY.																								
					1st Beat, 10 a.m. to 12 p.m.																								
					2nd Beat, 12 p.m. to 2 p.m.																								
					3rd Beat, 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.																								
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MEMORANDUM AS TO WORKING A SCHEME FOR PICKET & BEAT-DUTY. (AS SHOWN IN SUPPLEMENT BB 1.)

The whole of the men who are available for Street Duty to be divided into two Forces of equal strength, namely,—the Day Duty Force and the Night Duty Force.

The Day Duty Force to be worked in three Divisions, known as the First, Second, and Third.

The Night Duty Force to be worked in two Divisions, known as the Fourth and Fifth.

The Day beat-duty to be performed singly, one man being on each Beat.

The Night beat-duty to be performed either in pairs or singly, according to circumstances.

The Day Duty Force is to change divisions daily; thus, the First Division becomes the Third, the Third Division becomes the Second, and the Second Division becomes the First.

The Night Duty Force is to exchange its divisions nightly.

The Day and Night Duty Forces are to interchange monthly.

In working this Scheme during the two months each man would average daily (inclusive of the extra hour named for the Third and Fifth Divisions on Saturday) $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours on Picket and beat-duty; and also 1 h. 10 m. in uniform in his barrack as an available reserve.

AS TO RESERVE FORCE.

The First Division on coming off duty at 9 A.M. should form the Reserve Force until 9 A.M. on the following day. This Division should be in uniform until 10 P.M., and should be constantly available throughout the 24 hours as a reinforcement in case of any emergency. For this purpose these men should be confined to barracks except from 6 P.M. to 9 P.M. During these three hours in each evening they may be sent to the more important locality in their own district to act as a special picket, but communication is to be maintained between this locality and the district barrack, in order that the reserve may still be available for any part of the town.

When acting as a reinforcement the reserve force should be moved from place to place by the district police brake, and this brake or some other conveyance should on these occasions remain in attendance ready to remove prisoners or to transport the reserve force.

The First Division is to be constantly maintained at its full strength, and any vacancies therein (whether temporary or otherwise) are to be immediately filled from the Second or Third Divisions.

AS TO OCCASIONAL EXTRA OR INCIDENTAL DUTIES.

Occasional extra and incidental duties may be attended to by men from the Second and Third Divisions.

For every hour that any man is employed during his off-duty period he may (in ordinary and undisturbed times) be excused half an hour of his period of picket duty.

AS TO PICKET DUTY.

In each district the Second and Third Divisions when on picket duty should act either in one body or in two or three sections. Each picket would thus average from 5 to 16 men according to circumstances.

The Fifth Division should be occupied from midnight to 1 A.M. in examining shop doors and seeing to the security of house property generally before relieving the Fourth Division of beat-duty at 1 A.M.

The pickets would not necessarily be confined to their own districts. Every district barrack being in direct telephone connection, the District Inspectors should communicate to each other any special circumstances, and they should, by thorough co-operation, make it their special duty to station their pickets as most convenient for general purposes.

The district police brake may be utilised with advantage for moving pickets and for relieving the beat-duty force, more especially at 7 A.M. and 3 P.M.

BB 1.

TABULAR STATEMENT of a scheme of duty for hours between 8 A.M. of any one day and 7 A.M. of the day following. To regulate the disposition of the Belfast Town Police Force so as to furnish the necessary strength for Beat, Picket, and Reserve Duties at different periods of the day; also to show the number of men allotted to each Duty Division out of an available street force of 408 men.

Divisions for Street Duty.		HOURS OF STREET DUTY.				REMARKS.	
Name.	Strength.	Periods.	No. of Men.	Time on Picket Duty.	Time on Beat Duty.		
Day Duty Force, 264 Men.	FIRST, -	68	8 A.M. to 9 A.M. 9 P.M. to 9 P.M.	6	8 A.M. to 7 A.M. 9 P.M. to 9 P.M.	7 A.M. to 9 A.M.	Fifth Man, Reserve Force.
	SECOND, -	66	9 A.M. to 2 P.M. 3 P.M. to 5 P.M.	6	9 P.M. to 9 P.M.	9 A.M. to 2 P.M.	On Saturday this Second Division should remain on Picket Duty from 9 P.M. till 9 P.M.
	THIRD, -	68	1 P.M. to 5 P.M. 6 P.M. to MIDN'T.	8	1 P.M. to 2 P.M. 9 P.M. to MIDN'T.	3 P.M. to 6 P.M.	This Third Division to be in Reserve from 4 P.M. to 9 P.M.
Night Duty Force, 200 Men.	FOURTH, -	102	6 P.M. to 1 A.M.	7		6 P.M. to 1 A.M.	On Saturday this Fourth Division should, if necessary, remain on Beat Duty from 6 P.M. to 2 A.M.
	FIFTH, -	102	MIDN'T. to 7 A.M.	7	MIDN'T. to 1 A.M. (See Above.)	1 A.M. to 7 A.M.	This Fifth Division to be in Reserve from 2 P.M. to Midnight, ready for Night Duty.

SUPPLEMENT.

BB 2.

ANALYTICAL STATEMENT showing, on the left hand, the numbers on Picket and Beat Duty at different periods of the day, when working the above scheme with an available street duty force of 408 men.

Also showing, on the right hand, a similar statement for a strength of 346 men in comparison with the disposition made of that number for street duty in the Town of Belfast on the 31st May, 1888.

BY THE ABOVE SCHEME DISPOSITION OF 408 MEN.			PERIODS OF THE DAY AND SPECIAL FEATURES	BY THE ABOVE SCHEME DISPOSITION OF 346 MEN.			Actual Disposition of the 346 men on Street Duty in Belfast, 31st May, 1888.
STRENGTH AT EACH PERIOD OF THE DAY.				STRENGTH AT EACH PERIOD OF THE DAY.			
On Picket Duty.	On Beat Duty.	Total.		On Picket Duty.	On Beat Duty.	Total.	
68	102	170	6 A.M. to 7 A.M. Population Going to Work.	68	66	134	61
	66	66	7 A.M. to 1 P.M.		66	66	
66	68	134	1 P.M. to 2 P.M. Industrial Dinner Hour.	66	66	132	59
	66	66	2 P.M. to 5 P.M.		66	66	
68	68	136	5 P.M. to 6 P.M. Close of Working Hours.	68	66	134	106
136	102	238	6 P.M. to 8 P.M. Workers Returned Home.	116	66	182	
66	102	170	8 P.M. to 11 P.M. Public-houses Busy.	66	66	132	137
66	102	170	11 P.M. to MIDNIGHT. Public-houses Closed.	66	66	132	
106	102	204	MIDNIGHT to 1 A.M. Security of Ships, etc.	66	66	132	
	102	102	1 A.M. to 8 A.M.		66	66	

TOTAL POPULATION IN BELFAST, OCCUPATIONS OF

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES BY RELIGIOUS PROFESSION IN THE BOROUGH OF BELFAST.

MALES.		Number of Males Prescribed belonging to Roman Catholic profession, 25,908					Percentage of Males Prescribed belonging to Roman Catholic profession, 27.22		
		Total Number of Males Population in Borough of Belfast, 94,844							
OCCUPATIONS. Class and Order.		British subjects.	Prescribed Protestant Episcopalian.	Prescribed Presbyterian.	Methodists.	All other Protestants.	Independents and others.	Total number of Males in each Class.	Percentage of Males in each Class belonging to the R.C. profession.
CLASS I. PROFESSIONAL.									
Order I.—Persons engaged in the General or Local Government of the Country.		435	422	341	47	31	—		
Order II.—Persons engaged in the Defence of the Country.		435	845	156	35	25	—		
Order III.—Persons engaged in Professional Occupations (with their immediate subordinates).		520	687	891	129	135	3		
	Clergy—Roman Catholic.	41	—	—	—	—	—		
	Protestant Episcopalian.	—	49	—	—	—	—		
	Presbyterian.	—	—	20	—	—	—		
	Methodist.	—	—	—	30	—	—		
	All other Protestants.	—	—	—	—	25	—		
Class III. Includes under Sub-Order I.—									
	Ministry, Scientific Section, Licensed Practitioners.	—	27	21	2	2	—		
	Medics.	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Geographical Section, University College, Services.	2	11	11	4	1	—		
Total—Class I. Professional.		1,398	1,864	1,407	209	189	3	5,070	37.57
Total—Class I. Smitting Order II.		862	1,690	1,557	178	155	3	3,510	26.59
CLASS II. DOMESTIC.									
Order IV.—Persons engaged in Domestic Office or Services.		341	405	295	27	18	—		
Total—Class II. Domestic.		247	405	295	27	15	—	989	24.77
CLASS III. COMMERCIAL.									
Order V.—Persons engaged in Commercial Occupations.		402	505	1,434	715	189	4		
Order VI.—Persons engaged in Commerce of Man, Goods, and Money.		1,822	1,825	2,665	384	215	—		
Total—Class III. Commercial.		2,224	2,778	3,559	369	423	4	9,508	24.66
CLASS IV. AGRICULTURAL.									
Order VII.—Persons engaged in Agriculture.		108	985	347	24	14	—		
Order VIII.—Persons engaged about Animals.		120	79	66	2	3	—		
Total—Class IV. Agricultural.		228	335	413	26	17	—	1,117	20.27
CLASS V. INDUSTRIAL.									
Order IX.—Persons engaged in Books and Prints.		363	324	439	71	51	3		
Order X.—Persons working and dealing in Machinery and Implements.		830	955	513	74	55	—		
Order XI.—Persons working and dealing in Horses, Furniture, and Domesticities.		1,074	1,603	2,825	550	354	2		
Order XII.—Persons working and dealing in Carriages and Harness.		123	78	158	19	10	—		
Order XIII.—Persons working and dealing in Ships and Boats.		145	435	274	65	75	—		
Order XIV.—Persons working and dealing in Chemicals and Compounds.		27	60	103	21	12	—		
Order XV.—Persons working and dealing in Tobacco and Pipes.		108	30	23	5	2	—		
Order XVI.—Persons working and dealing in Food and Lodgings.		1,485	955	1,735	158	129	—		
	Sub-order L. Druggists, Goldsmiths, Jewellers.	209	20	10	2	2	—		
	Sub-order L. Warehouse and Retail Merchants, Agents.	127	40	11	2	4	—		
	Sub-order L. Builders, Mill-owners.	257	51	54	2	7	—		
Order XVII.—Persons working and dealing in Textile Fabrics.		1,500	2,183	2,710	307	241	—		
Order XVIII.—Persons working and dealing in Dyes.		620	354	760	106	73	—		
Order XIX.—Persons working and dealing in various Animal Substances.		76	64	187	16	5	—		
Order XX.—Persons working and dealing in various Vegetable Substances.		324	538	313	46	30	—		
Order XXI.—Persons working and dealing in various Mineral Substances.		1,223	1,808	1,947	280	124	—		
Order XXII.—Persons working and dealing in General or Unspecified Commodities.		4,770	3,513	5,388	551	478	3		
Order XXIII.—Persons working and dealing in Refuse Matters.		71	9	11	1	—	—		
Total—Class V. Industrial.		12,412	11,847	14,792	1,815	1,103	5	41,834	29.67
CLASS VI. INDEFINITE AND NON-PRODUCTIVE.									
Order XXIV.—Persons not Prescribed.		3,181	13,685	12,835	1,951	2,481	25		
Total—Class VI. Indefinite and Non-productive.		3,181	10,935	12,832	1,951	2,481	25	28,325	25.27

208,122 (CENSUS, 1881). THE PEOPLE.

11

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY RELIGIOUS PROFESSION IN THE BOROUGH OF BELFAST

FEMALES.		Number of Female Population belonging to Roman Catholic profession, 34,067						30-07	
		Percentage of Female Populn, belonging to Roman Catholic profession, 16.35							
		Total Number of Female Population in Borough of Belfast, 115,278							
OCCUPATIONS. Class and Order.		Roman Catholics.	Protestant Anglicans.	Protestant Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Protestants.	Indefinite and Non-Productive.	Total number of Females in each Class.	Percentage of Females in each class belonging to R.C. profession
CLASS I. PROFESSIONAL.									
ORDER I.—Persons engaged in the General or Local Government of the Country.		18	18	6	4	1	—		
ORDER III.—Persons engaged in Professional Occupations (with their immediate Subordinates).		456	565	319	144	82	1		
ORDER III. (Continued.) Includes under Sub-Order 1. (Ministry, Scripture Reader, Vicar, Curate, Church, Chapel, Quacquer, Clergy, Servant.)		—	6	2	2	2	—		
		70	7	8	—	1	—		
Total—Class I. Professional.		468	886	825	148	85	1	2,411	19.41
CLASS II. DOMESTIC.									
ORDER IV.—Persons engaged in Domestic Office or Service.		1,518	4,220	4,725	743	340	3		
Total—Class II. Domestic.		5,615	4,251	4,728	743	340	3	15,680	25.80
CLASS III. COMMERCIAL.									
ORDER V.—Persons engaged in Commercial Occupations.		38	34	53	25	4	—		
ORDER VI.—Persons engaged in Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages.		36	30	38	5	4	—		
Total—Class III. Commercial.		73	66	118	30	8	—	295	24.76
CLASS IV. AGRICULTURAL.									
ORDER VII.—Persons engaged in Agriculture.		8	10	15	—	—	—		
ORDER VIII.—Persons engaged about Animals.		2	—	2	—	—	—		
Total—Class IV. Agricultural.		3	10	17	—	—	—	35	22.66
CLASS V.—INDUSTRIAL.									
ORDER IX.—Persons engaged in Books and Prints.		54	61	64	15	4	—		
ORDER X.—Persons working and dealing in Machinery and Implements.		1	2	2	—	—	—		
ORDER XI.—Persons working and dealing in Houses, Furniture, and Decorations.		20	21	20	2	4	—		
ORDER XIV.—Persons working and dealing in Chemicals and Compounds.		6	4	5	—	—	—		
ORDER XV.—Persons working and dealing in Tobacco and Pipes.		60	34	25	3	2	—		
ORDER XVI.—Persons working and dealing in Food and Lodgings.		340	221	655	52	24	—		
ORDER XVII.—Persons working and dealing in Textile Fabrics.		1,728	3,668	5,459	648	400	1		
ORDER XVIII.—Persons working and dealing in Draps.		1,690	1,786	2,543	282	180	—		
ORDER XIX.—Persons working and dealing in various Animal Substances.		7	9	12	5	4	—		
ORDER XX.—Persons working and dealing in various Vegetable Substances.		127	167	164	12	20	—		
ORDER XXI.—Persons working and dealing in various Mineral Substances.		42	5	3	—	—	—		
ORDER XXII.—Persons working and dealing in Unspecified Commodities.		1,696	1,602	1,275	122	203	—		
ORDER XXIII.—Persons working and dealing in Refuse Matters.		21	7	5	1	—	—		
Total—Class V. Industrial.		12,133	8,881	10,002	1,271	701	1	32,940	36.82
CLASS VI. INDEFINITE AND NON-PRODUCTIVE.									
ORDER XXIV.—Persons not Producing.		15,770	17,062	22,723	2,852	2,531	20		
Total—Class VI. Indefinite and Non-Productive.		15,770	17,012	22,723	2,852	2,531	20	61,908	25.44

CENSUS OF IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1881.

UNION OF BELFAST
MUNICIPALITY OF DISTRICT.

RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT AND STATE OF THE LOCALITIES, AND RESULTS OF ENQUIRY, IN EACH TOWN IN THE BOROUGH OF BELFAST.

Parishes and Towns.	Population.				Religious Professions.																			
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Persons.	Roman Catholics.				Protestants.				Methodists.				Other Denominations.				Uncommunicated.			
					Males.	Females.	Total.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Total.	
St. Andrew's.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	
St. George's.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	
St. James's.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	
St. Mary's.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	
St. Peter's.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	
Total.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	

*The small portion of Roman Catholics in Belfast is not shown in this table.

CENSUS OF IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1881.

Comparative View of the Number and Percentage of Persons belonging to each Religious Profession in the Borough of BELFAST, at the Census Periods of 1801, 1821, and 1841. First Census of 1801, 1821, and 1841. First Census of 1801, 1821, and 1841.

Census Periods, No.		Total Number of Persons and Percentage belonging to each Religious Profession.						Total.	Number and Percentage of the ROMAN, First Census and the Second.						Total.
		Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Free Methodists.	Methodists.	Other Free Churches.	Uncommunicated.		Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Free Methodists.	Methodists.	Other Free Churches.	Uncommunicated.	
1801	Number, Percentage.	46,400 50.7	36,400 39.7	47,000 50.0	1,100 1.1	1,400 1.4		106,800 100	46,400 50.0	1,100 1.0	1,400 1.3	100 1.0	60 0.6		148,900 139.9
1821	Number, Percentage.	56,400 51.9	44,400 40.4	56,800 51.8	1,700 1.5	1,800 1.6		159,600 100	56,400 50.0	1,400 1.0	1,800 1.3	100 0.7	60 0.4		160,400 100.7
1841	Number, Percentage.	56,400 50.4	44,400 39.4	56,800 50.4	1,700 1.4	1,800 1.6	10	163,210 100	56,400 50.0	1,400 1.0	1,800 1.3	100 0.6	70 0.4	10	163,910 100.6

D 1.

EXCERPTS FROM MAGISTRATES' MINUTE BOOK.

TOWN HALL, BELFAST, 28th June, 1886.

A meeting of magistrates, convened by the following circular, was held in the Town Hall this day:—

"Police Courts, Belfast, 25th June, 1886.—Sir,—I am directed by the Mayor to request your attendance at a meeting of magistrates to be held in the Town Hall, on Monday, the 28th instant, at two o'clock p.m., to consider—1st. What arrangements may be necessary for the preservation of the public peace at the approaching parliamentary election, and also on the 12th of July. 2nd. The re-arrangement of business in the police courts, and the days for certain magistrates to attend, which have been rendered necessary by recent appointments—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant, ROBERT M'HEERY, Chief Clerk."

Present—Sir Edward J. Harland, Bart., Mayor (presiding); Major General George Montgomery-Moore; 35 borough magistrates, and 2 resident magistrates.

* * * * *

The Chief Clerk having read the circular convening the meeting, the Mayor briefly explained his reasons for having called the meeting, and invited an expression of opinion as to question No. 1.

The Hon. Col. Forbes, R.M., stated that at the last general election they had 200 extra police in town, and these were found too few, owing to the number of constables required for duty in the several polling booths.

Mr. Cullen, divisional magistrate, was of opinion that 300 extra police would be required.

Mr. McCarthy, R.M., concurred in this opinion.

A very lengthened discussion ensued as to whether 200 or any greater number of extra police should be asked for, or whether it might not be better to rely upon the town force to preserve the peace at the approaching election, and also upon the 12th of July next.

Ultimately it was proposed by Mr. McClelland, and seconded by Mr. John Browne—"That no extra police be brought into Belfast either at the coming election or on the 12th of July next."

To this the following amendment was moved by Dr. O'Malley, and seconded by Mr. Cloee—"That in view of the opinions expressed by the divisional magistrate and the resident magistrate, it is, in the judgment of the meeting, necessary that 300 extra police be drafted into town to aid in the preservation of the peace at the approaching parliamentary election, and also on the 12th of July next."

The Mayor, before putting either the motion or amendment, said he felt bound to give it as his opinion that an extra force of police was absolutely required, and he therefore asked the magistrates to fall in with the views expressed by the resident magistrates and the heads of the police force.

After further discussion, Mr. McClelland and Mr. John Browne agreed to withdraw their motion, and the amendment was then passed as a substantive resolution in the following form—"That in view of the opinions expressed by the divisional magistrate and the resident magistrates, it is in the judgment of this meeting necessary that between 200 and 300 extra police be drafted into town and held in reserve to aid in the preservation of the peace at the approaching parliamentary election, and also on the 12th of July next."

It was next moved by Mr. John Browne, seconded by Dr. McGee, and unanimously resolved—"That with the view of preserving the peace at the approaching election, it is desirable that the town be divided into districts, one for each polling booth, and that four magistrates be appointed to take charge of each district, under the supervision of the town inspector of constabulary and the resident magistrates."

The Mayor said this resolution would have his attention, and he directed the Chief Clerk to prepare a list of the magistrates and their stations accordingly, and to furnish a copy thereof to each magistrate to whom a district should be assigned.

Moved by Mr. John Browne, seconded by Mr. Hamill, and unanimously resolved—"That with the view of preserving the peace upon the 12th of July next, the usual arrangements be made for the magistrates taking charge of certain districts in the town where any disturbance or conflict may possibly be apprehended."

The following arrangements were then approved of (and the names of the magistrates assigned to each locality are entered in the minutes):—*Carlisle Circus*, 4 magistrates; *Petershill*, 4 magistrates; *Currickhill*, 4 magistrates; *Royal-avenue and York-street*, 4 magistrates; *North-street and Royal-avenue*, 4 magistrates; *Bank Buildings*, 3 magistrates; *Linenhall*, 4 magistrates; *College-square*, 3 magistrates; *Linenhall-street* (for *St. Malachy's*), 3 magistrates; *Ormeau-avenue and Cronin-street*, 4 magistrates; *Ballynafeigh*, 4 magistrates; *Queen's-bridge*, 4 magistrates; *Short-strand and Bridgend*, 3 magistrates; *York-street and Henry-street*, 4 magistrates; *Barrack-street and Durham-street*, 3 magistrates; *Brickfields, Falls-road*, 4 magistrates; *Springfield*, 4 magistrates.

The following polling districts were subsequently assigned, with the approval of the Mayor, to the under-mentioned magistrates, with the view of preserving the public peace on the occasion of the parliamentary election on the 6th of July, 1886 (and the names of the magistrates assigned to each locality are entered in the minutes):—

EAST DIVISION.—*Mariners' Church School, Corporation-street*, 3 magistrates; *Jennymount National School*, 3 magistrates; *Weebouree National School, Ballymacarrett*, 3 magistrates; *Glenallen Hall, Albert Bridge-road*, 3 magistrates; *St. Jude's National School, Ballynafeigh*, 3 magistrates.

WEST DIVISION.—*No. 11 Waring-street*, 3 magistrates; *No. 36 Royal-avenue*, 3 magistrates; *Brown-street National School*, 3 magistrates; *Model Schools, Falls-road*, 3 magistrates; *Durham-street Mills*, 3 magistrates; *Northumberland-street National School*, 3 magistrates; *Ashmore-street National School*, 3 magistrates; *Grosvenor-street National School*, 3 magistrates.

NORTH DIVISION.—*Old Lodge-road National School*, 2 magistrates; *The County Court-House, Crumlin-road*, 2 magistrates; *St. James' National School, Antrim-road*, 2 magistrates; *Edenderry National School*, 3 magistrates.

SOUTH DIVISION.—*The Grain Market*, 3 magistrates; *Hope-street National School*, 2 magistrates; *The Montgomery National School, Donegall-pass*, 2 magistrates; *St. Thomas' National School, Lower Windsor*, 2 magistrates.

(Signed) E. J. HARLAND, Mayor.

SUPPLEMENT.

D 2.

TOWN HALL BELFANT, 14th July, 1886.

A meeting of magistrates, convened by the following circular, was held in the Town Hall this day.

Present.—*Sir Edward J. Harland, Bart.*, Mayor, in the chair, and 31 borough magistrates.

The Mayor briefly explained that his reason for so hastily summoning the meeting was the unexpected riots which had taken place the previous evening at the *Brickfields* and district adjoining. It had been arranged by the resident magistrates that they should take charge of certain districts as under-mentioned. He (the Mayor) thought it would be advisable that the local magistrates should co-operate. After discussion the following arrangements were adopted (and the names of the magistrates assigned to each locality are entered in the minutes):—

RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.—*Durham-street*, 1 magistrate; *Albert-crescent*, 1 magistrate; *Brickfields*, 5 magistrates; *Petershill and Millfield*, 1 magistrate; *Currickhill and York-street*, 1 magistrate. *Mr. Dunsterville* and *Mr. Beresford* to be in reserve to act when and where called on.

LOCAL MAGISTRATES.—*Brickfields, Falls-road*, 6 magistrates; *Shankhill-road*, 8 magistrates; *Durham-street and College-square*, 7 magistrates; *Grosvenor-road*, 3 magistrates; *Petershill*, 4 magistrates; *Currickhill*, 4 magistrates; *Ballymacarrett*, 2 magistrates; *Cronin-street*, 1 magistrate; *York-street*, 6 magistrates.

The Clerk was directed to furnish, as soon as possible, a copy of the latter list to each magistrate mentioned therein.

It was suggested by some of the magistrates that the Mayor should issue a proclamation warning the people against participation in riotous assemblies. The Mayor stated that he had already given instructions to have the following notice posted throughout the borough:—

"BOROUGH OF BELFAST.

"TO THE PEACEABLE INHABITANTS.

"Whereas lawless mobs have from time to time assembled in the streets, injuring property and disturbing the public peace.

"Now, as Mayor of Belfast, I do hereby give notice that all parties assembling in the streets or open spaces, and refusing to disperse themselves and peaceably go to their homes or lawful business, are liable to be arrested and prosecuted according to law, and also subject themselves to the risk and consequences of forming parts of riotous mobs.

"And I have to request that all peaceable subjects will avoid such assemblies, and individually assist the authorities in maintaining the public peace, and protecting the lives and property of the inhabitants.

"(Signed) EDWARD J. HARLAND, Mayor."

A short discussion followed as to the use of firearms. Dr. Dempsey and Mr. Megraw giving it as their opinion that the Lord Lieutenant should be at once asked to proclaim the borough under the Peace Preservation Act.

The Chief Clerk stated that this had been done over five years ago, so far as the carrying of arms was concerned. The matter then dropped, and the meeting adjourned.

(Signed) E. J. HARLAND, Mayor.

SUPPLEMENT.

D 3.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

TOWN HALL, BELFAST, Wednesday, 13th August, 1886.

A meeting of the Magistrates' Executive Committee, convened by circular, was held in Room B, Town Hall, at 12 o'clock to-day.

Present—Sir E. J. Harland, Bart., Mayor (in the chair); Major General Montgomery-Moore; A. Reed, Esq., the Inspector General of Constabulary; F. N. Cullen, Esq., Divisional Magistrate; John Browne, Esq.; Thos. McClelland, Esq.; Michael McGee, Esq., M.D.; T. P. Carr, Esq., Town Inspector; James Ross, Esq.; Hon. Col. Forbes, R.M.

The Inspector General made his usual report as to the state of the town during the previous night. He was glad to say that the passing home of the islandmen did not seem to excite the same feeling as heretofore. They went in much smaller bodies than on the previous evening. The report was considered very satisfactory.

The Mayor said he had been informed by Mr. Pirrie that the islandmen when going home had walked upon the footpath much in the same way as had been their custom when the town was quiet.

Mr. Browne remarked that he had been at Royal-avenue last night and had observed an enormous group of little fellows, who apparently were in waiting to join the men. It was these lads who engaged in singing and so forth.

Mr. Cullen said he had taken the precaution of placing a number of men at Royal-avenue for the purpose of preventing these lads from following the islandmen. The latter went home very quietly.

It was announced that a deputation from the Belfast Presbytery was in waiting, anxious to have an interview with the committee as to the Albert-street Presbyterian Church.

The committee unanimously resolved to receive the deputation.

The Rev. Mr. Williamson asked to be allowed to interpose. He said that from all he could learn he believed the congregation would prefer to have no guard at all rather than have the police. He was persuaded that if they sent the police, their very presence would create a row, so strong was the feeling against them.

The Rev. Dr. Hanna said the feeling was so intense against the police that he was decidedly of opinion that it would be better, rather than send the police, not to send any protection at all.

After the deputation retired, Mr. Ross begged to be allowed to say that up to the present he was not aware that the Albert-street Church had been attacked. It was situated in a Roman Catholic district, and he thought it would be quite safe to send police to protect the people going to the church. He was willing to speak to the Roman Catholic clergy and the respectable people of the district, to ask them to protect the church.

The committee approved of Mr. Ross's proposed action.

The Inspector General said this was the first time he had learned that this Albert-street Church stood in need of protection. He was decidedly of opinion that it would be better not to ask them to leave their church next Sunday.

The Town Inspector explained to the committee the situation of the church, and the best means in his opinion of protecting it and the members of the congregation.

The General and Inspector General gave it as their opinion that there would not be any difficulty in affording protection on Sunday next to the congregations referred to, and undertook to have this duty attended to.

The committee then adjourned until next day (Thursday) at one o'clock.

(Signed) JOHN PRESTON, Chairman.

SUPPLEMENT.

D 4.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

TOWN HALL, BELFAST, Thursday, 2nd September, 1886.

A meeting of the Magistrates' Executive Committee, convened by circular, was held in Room B, Town Hall, at twelve o'clock to-day.

Present—Sir Edward J. Harland, Bart., Mayor (presiding); Major General Montgomery-Moore; A. Reed, Esq., Inspector General, Royal Irish Constabulary; Sir David Taylor, Kt., J.P.; Sir John Preston, Kt., J.P.; The Hon. Colonel Forbes, R.M.; Thomas McClelland, Esq., J.P.; John Browne, Esq., J.P.; F. N. Cullen, Esq., Divisional Magistrate; James Ross, Esq., J.P.

The minutes of the 28th August were read, and, upon the motion of Mr. McClelland, seconded by Sir John Preston, were unanimously confirmed. During the reading of the minutes, the inspector general reported that up to the present the Rev. Dr. Hanna had not yet sent to him any particulars of the case to which he referred on Saturday last. The inspector general proceeded to make his usual report. He said that on the previous evening he rode up and down when the islandmen were returning from their work. He felt bound to say that their conduct was remarkably good, there was neither groaning nor shouting as they passed, nor was the slightest notice taken of the police or himself. He was sorry he could not say the same for Messrs. Coombe & Barbour's men, some of whom threw bolts at the police as they passed them when returning from their work. As regarded the Shankill-road everything passed off better even than he could have anticipated. The respectable people gave the police every assistance, and expressed their gratification at seeing them back again. Several of the inhabitants had expressed to him how pleased they were with the arrangements which had been made, and what had been done by the Executive Committee. No large crowds collected on the road; the inhabitants had certainly obeyed the Mayor's proclamation—indeed, to his mind, the obedience of the people to the proclamation was very remarkable. Any disturbance that had taken place was confined to Percy-street and North Howard street, and what occurred there was caused by about a couple hundred roughs, who throw stones at the police. He was glad, however, to say that 17 arrests for riot and assault were made in that particular district. The only other occurrence of any importance was the firing of a revolver shot at about 7.30 at Agnes-street. The bullet struck Constable O'Reilly and passed through his tunic, but fortunately did not inflict any injury upon him. The inspector general made special reference to the assistance which the police had received from Mr. Matthews, T.C. The Hon. Colonel Forbes said Mr. Matthews rendered valuable assistance all through the disturbances. In reply to a question from the Mayor, the inspector general said, General Moore, himself, Mr. Cullen, Colonel Forbes, and the other resident magistrates were more than satisfied with the result of last night's proceedings. Many respectable people came forward and expressed their thanks for the arrangements which had been made by the Executive Committee. The Mayor's proclamation had been most effective. In reply to Mr. Browne, the inspector general said the people on the Shankill district gave himself and the police every support. The police on beat duty were not interfered with except at Bowershill, the particulars in regard to which he had already reported. The Mayor asked General Moore if he had anything special to report. The general said not, except that last night the military had for the first time since the beginning of the riots, commenced to assume the position which they in his opinion ought to occupy—namely, they were as far as possible kept out of sight, although ready, of course, at a moment's notice to assist the civil powers in the preservation of the peace. He hoped that they would be able gradually to disappear still further from the public view. The inspector general said he felt bound to express before the Committee his conviction that the people of Belfast owed a debt of gratitude to General Moore and the military for the invaluable assistance which they had rendered to the civil authority. The military had not stood upon the question of regulation or the like, but had actually in his own presence discharged the duties of a peace officer as effectually as the police themselves could have done. He instance, as one case amongst many others, that of Corporal Roache, who had made a most important arrest. Mr. Ross said he thought the state of matters now existing was highly satisfactory. He said there was one matter to which he wanted to advert, and that was the question of the

police. He had heard a great deal outside that Committee upon the subject of the religion of the police, and especially in regard to the officers. He understood that the large majority of the officers doing duty in Belfast were Protestants; but, speaking for himself, he would say that he had not the slightest complaint to make because such was the case. He had most unlimited confidence in all their officers, and his experience had taught him that they all endeavoured to discharge duties without fear, favour, or affection towards any man. He thought this expression of his opinion as a Catholic was due to the police officials. As for the men—he would never think of enquiring whether a man was a Catholic or a Protestant, so long as they were not under any political or sectarian control. He believed all would willingly do their duty alike. The Inspector general thanked Mr. Ross for his kind remarks in regard to the police. If it were necessary he could show the utter folly of the Belfast people supposing that Catholic policemen, whether officers or men, had been sent there to shoot Protestants. A discussion next ensued as to the possibility of reducing the number of the forces now in town. It was, however, decided that no action could or should be taken in the matter of reducing the forces until after Monday next. The Inspector general said that if everything passed off peaceably until the day named, they would then be in a position to consider the question of curtailing the force. The meeting then adjourned until Friday, 3rd instant, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) E. J. HARLAND, Mayor.

SUPPLEMENT.

D 5.

LETTER FROM SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND, TO
SIR E. HARLAND, MAYOR OF BELFAST.

DUBLIN CASTLE, 6th August, 1886.

SIR,—I am directed by the Lords Justices to state that their Excellencies are seriously concerned at the condition of Belfast, and consider it imperative that the most energetic measures should be taken with the view of putting an end to the disturbances which have brought discredit and disgrace upon the town.

Every requisition of the magistrates for extra police and other assistance has been promptly complied with. Further aid of the same kind will be afforded should it be desired. But their Excellencies would earnestly impress upon you, as representing the inhabitants of Belfast, that such action on the part of the Government cannot secure its object without the hearty co-operation of those who are primarily interested in its success, and that it is the first duty of all peaceable and law-abiding citizens to afford their active assistance to the authorities in their endeavours to restore order and maintain the peace of the town.

Their Excellencies have therefore read with great satisfaction the terms of the proclamation which you issued yesterday; and every assistance and countenance in their power will be given to make this step effective.

It is for the consideration of the magistrates whether, looking to the gravity of the present situation, it may not be desirable to extend the prohibition of assemblies likely to endanger the public peace to processions and bands, and they would call your attention to a proclamation issued by the Mayor of Belfast under similar circumstances on the 19th August, 1872.

It has further occurred to their Excellencies that much advantage might arise from the presence in Belfast, at the present time, of a civil officer of high rank, who should be in supreme control of the movements of the police, and they have, therefore, instructed the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary to proceed at once to Belfast.

Their Excellencies do not intend in any way by this step to interfere with the constitutional responsibility of the magistrates, but they hope it will tend to secure uniformity of action in the work of restoring order and vindicating the law, and they confidently rely upon the magistrates, both local and resident, recognising the advantages which may arise from this arrangement, and upon their hearty co-operating with the Inspector-General in carrying out such measures as may be required for this purpose.

Their Excellencies have communicated this arrangement to the military authorities, whose cordial co-operation throughout with the civil authorities they have much pleasure in recognising.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

M. E. HICKS-BEACH.

SIR E. HARLAND, Bart., Mayor of Belfast.

SUPPLEMENT.

D 6.

EXTRACTS FROM MAGISTRATES' MINUTE BOOK FOR A FORMER PERIOD.

BOROUGH OF BELFAST—YEARS 1881 AND 1882.

TOWN HALL, BELFAST,
22nd June, 1881.

A meeting of Magistrates convened by the following circular was held in the Town Hall this day :—“ Police Courts, Belfast, 28th June, 1881, Sir, I am directed by “ the Mayor to request your attendance at a meeting of the Magistrates to be held in “ the Town Hall on Tuesday, the 5th of July, 1881, at one o’clock, to consider what “ arrangements may be necessary for the preservation of the peace on the approaching “ 12th of July, and to transact such other business as may be brought before the “ meeting.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant, Robert M’Henry, “ Chief Clerk.”

Present—The Mayor of Belfast (Presiding); Major General Torrens, C.B.; Edward Orme, Esq., R.M.; James L. Baillie, Esq.; John Brown, Esq.; Samuel Browne, Esq., M.D., R.M.; Charles Duffin, Esq.; William Bell, Esq.; Sir John Preston; William John Johnston, Esq.; F. D. Ward, Esq.; Joseph H. Lytle, Esq.; Alex. Harkin, Esq., M.D.; Thomas Sinclair, Esq.; E. J. Harland, Esq.; Thomas S. Dixon, Esq.; Robert L. Hamilton, Esq.; Thomas McClelland, Esq.; John S. Browne, Esq.; Jas. H. Haslett, Esq.

Apologies for non-attendance were received from J. M. Higginson, Esq., and Robt. Atkinson, Esq.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were then read.

Mr. John Browne asked that consideration of the Minutes should be held over until the next meeting, as he was not satisfied as to their accuracy.

After some discussion it was moved by Mr. Duffin, and seconded by Dr. Browne, that the Minutes as read be confirmed.

After further discussion, Mr. Browne’s suggestion was adopted.

The Mayor having explained the object for which the meeting was called, Mr. Baillie stated that judging from the present state of feeling in the town, he thought the 12th of July might be got over peaceably. He had 35 vacancies in the town force, and he would suggest that the Magistrates should ask to have these filled up, and also to have the two Local Resident Magistrates sent back to Belfast. He was also of opinion that another Resident Magistrate should be asked for, and mentioned the name of Mr. Harrell.

It was thereupon moved by Mr. John Browne and seconded by Mr. Robert L. Hamilton :—

“ That, having heard the report of Town Inspector Baillie made to the Magistrates to-day, to the effect that he does not anticipate any breach of the “ peace on the approaching 12th of July, this meeting does not consider it “ necessary to ask the Government to send down any extra police on “ that occasion.”

Moved by Sir John Preston, seconded by Mr. Thos. S. Dixon, and unanimously resolved :—

“ That, Mr. Baillie having reported the fact of there being at present 35 vacancies “ in the town force, the Mayor be asked to communicate with the Govern- “ ment with the view of having these vacancies filled up at once.”

The following Magistrates were then appointed to take charge of the undermentioned districts :—

CARLISLE CIRCUS.

Sir John Savage.
James Carlisle, Esq.
James Henry, Esq.

CARRICKHILL.

John S. Browne, Esq.
Edward Reilly, Esq.
Thos. McClelland, Esq.
Samuel Lawther, Esq.

JOHN STREET AND YORK STREET.

Sir John Preston.
Thos. Sinclair, Esq.
Thos. S. Dixon, Esq.
Wm. Bell, Esq.

BELFAST BANK.

J. A. Henderson, Esq.
Robt. Thompson, Esq.

HERCULES PLACE.

Henry Murray, Esq., M.D.
 Thos. G. Lindsay, Esq.
 J. H. Haslett, Esq.
 Alex. Harkin, Esq., M.D.
 F. D. Ward, Esq.

COOKE MEMORIAL.

Samuel Browne, Esq., M.D.
 J. H. Lytle, Esq.

MAGDALENE SCHOOLS.

Robt. L. Hamilton, Esq.
 W. J. Johnston, Esq.

BARRACK STREET AND DURHAM STREET.

John Hinde, Esq.
 Arthur Hamill, Esq.

QUEEN'S BRIDGE.

E. J. Harland, Esq.
 John Browne, Esq.

BALLYMACARRETT.

Samuel M'Clelland, Esq.
 Wm. Mullan, Esq.
 W. B. Ritchie, Esq.

(Signed) E. P. COWAN, Mayor.

SUPPLEMENT.

D 7.

TOWN HALL, BELFAST, 5th July, 1882.

A meeting of Magistrates convened by the following circular was held in the Town Hall this day:—"Police Courts, Belfast, 30th June, 1882, Sir, I am directed by the Mayor to request your attendance at a meeting of Magistrates to be held in the Town Hall, on Wednesday, the 5th of July, 1882, at one o'clock, to consider what arrangements may be necessary for the preservation of the peace on the approaching 12th of July, and to transact such other business as may be brought before the meeting.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant, Robert M'Henry, Chief Clerk."

Present.—Sir E. P. Cowan, Knight, Mayor of Belfast (Presiding); Major General Commanding Forces, Belfast District; J. L. Bailey, Esq.; Thomas M'Clelland, Esq.; W. C. Mitchell, Esq.; Alex. Dempsey, Esq., M.D.; J. R. Mulholland, Esq.; John Workman, Esq.; Alex. McLaine, Esq.; Wilberforce Arnold, Esq., M.D.; John Crammie, Esq.; Robert M'Geogh, Esq.; Charles Duffin, Esq.; John Brown, Esq.; Samuel Browne, Esq., M.D.; James Carlisle, Esq.; Sir John Savage, Kt.; Robert L. Hamilton, Esq.; Sir John Preston, Kt.; George Hoerner, Esq.; Samuel Andrews, Esq.; James H. Haslett, Esq.; William J. Johnston, Esq.; William Robertson, Esq.; Thomas S. Dixon, Esq.

Apologies for non-attendance were received from Mr. J. M. Higginson, Mr. Robert Atkinson, and Mr. John S. Browne.

The Minutes of the last meeting were then read and confirmed.

The Mayor having explained the object for which the meeting was called,

Mr. Bailey stated that he had received information that the "Holy Family" were going to have a procession on Monday next the 10th instant, from Donagall-street and by York-street to the Northern Counties Railway Station. It was said that an attempt would be made to put up an orange arch or arches across York-street on Saturday or Sunday night. He was of opinion that if such should be erected, it would lead to a breach of the peace. He would do his best to prevent the erection of such, but if erected he thought it should be taken down at once at any risk. If it was put up and not taken down immediately he was afraid there would be serious disturbances. Should Monday's proceedings, however, pass over peaceably, he had little fear of any disturbances on the Twelfth instant, but, in his opinion, everything was contingent upon the peaceable character or otherwise of the procession which was to take place on Monday. He further added that he had at present 512 men on the Town Force, but only 430 were available for duty. He would, if necessary, make the men work 15 hours on the first day, but in case of riot, he would only undertake that they would do duty for eight hours on the next and succeeding days.

It was thereupon moved by Mr. John Browne, seconded by Mr. Carlisle, and passed:—

- "That, having heard the report of Town Inspector Bailey made to the Magistrates to-day, this meeting does not consider it necessary at present
- "to ask the Government to send down any extra police for the preservation of the public peace on the 12th instant."

Moved by Mr. Haslett, seconded by Mr. MacLaine, and passed:—

- "That, it having been reported by Mr. Bailey that a procession is to take place
- "on Monday, the 10th day of July, 1882, from York-street to the Northern Counties Railway, and that it is also reported that there is some
- "likelihood of an arch being thrown across York-street, resolved that no
- "arch should be permitted to be erected until after the procession has
- "passed."

The following Magistrates were then appointed to take charge of the under-mentioned districts.

CARRICKMULL.

John S. Browne, Esq.
Thomas McClelland, Esq.
Samuel Lawther, Esq.
Alex. Dempsey, Esq., M.D.
Alex. MacLaine, Esq.

CARLISLE CIRCUS.

Sir John Savage, Kt.
James Carlisle, Esq.

JOHN STREET AND YORK STREET.

Sir John Preston, Kt.
Thomas Sinclair, Esq.
Thomas S. Dixon, Esq.
Wm. C. Mitchell, Esq.
William Bell, Esq.

BELFAST BANK.

Jos. Alex. Henderson, Esq.
Robert Thompson, Esq.
John Cransie, Esq.

CASTLE PLACE.

Wm. Robertson, Esq.
Jos. H. Haslett, Esq.
Alex. Harkin, Esq., M.D.
F. D. Ward, Esq.

PETERSHILL AND NORTH STREET.

George Horner, Esq.
J. R. T. Mulholland, Esq.
Edward Hughes, Esq.

COOKE MEMORIAL.

Samuel Beattie, Esq., R.M.
Joseph H. Lytle, Esq.
John Workman, Esq.

MAGDALENE SCHOOLS.

David Taylor, Esq.
Robt. L. Hamilton, Esq.
W. J. Johnston, Esq.
Wilberforce Arnold, Esq., M.D.

BOTANIC GARDENS.

Robert MacGeogh, Esq.
Saml. Andrews, Esq.
Robt. Atkinson, Esq.

ALBERT BRIDGE TO MAY STREET.

John Browne, Esq.
E. J. Harland, Esq.
Samuel Johnston, Esq.
J. J. Shillington, Esq.

BARRACK STREET AND DURHAM STREET.

John Hinde, Esq.
Arthur Hamill, Esq.
Edward Reilly, Esq.

BALLYMACARRETT.

W. B. Ritchie, Esq.
William Mulhan, Esq.
Samuel McCausland, Esq.

(Signed) E. P. COWAN, Kt., Mayor.

TOWN HALL, BELFAST, 11th July, 1882.

An adjourned meeting of the Magistrates, convened by the following circular, was held in the Town Hall this day:—"Police Courts, Town Hall, Belfast, 6th July, 1882. "Sir, I am directed by the Mayor to request your attendance at an adjourned meeting "of Magistrates to be held in the Town Hall on Tuesday morning, the 11th of July, "1882 at Ten o'clock, to consider what further arrangements may be necessary for the "preservation of the peace on the following day. I have the honour to be, Sir, your "obedient servant, Robert McHenry, Chief Clerk."

Present—Sir E. P. Cowan, Kt., Mayor of Belfast (Presiding); Major General Commanding Forces, Belfast District; D. Harrell, Esq., R.M.; R. L. Hamilton, Esq.; R. MacGeogh, Esq.; Edward Reilly, Esq.; J. R. T. Mulholland, Esq.; George Horner, Esq.; Thomas McClelland, Esq.; Samuel Johnston, Esq.; Alexander MacLaine, Esq.; Wm. C. Mitchell, Esq.; F. D. Ward, Esq.; Finlay McCance, Esq.; Alexander Dempsey, M.D.; Dr. Browne, J.P.; Dr. Harkin, J.P."

Sub. Inspector Singleton, acting Town Inspector, was also present.

An apology for non-attendance was received from Mr. J. M. Higginson.

The Mayor mentioned that the procession of the previous day had passed off satisfactorily, adding that in his opinion the police arrangements were most excellent.

Mr. Harrell, R.M., said he thought the arrangements made at the meeting held on the 6th July, 1882, should be allowed to stand. He knew that the Government had made arrangements whereby 300 extra Constabulary could be drafted into town on the shortest possible notice.

Sub. Inspector Singleton concurred in this opinion.

Major General Sayers reported that he had received a reinforcement of military, who would be available in the event of any disturbance.

Mr. Harrell's recommendation was then agreed to.

(Signed) E. P. COWAN, Kt., Mayor.

E.

EXCERPT FROM THE APPENDIX TO THE FIRST REPORT OF THE CONSTABULARY
FORCE COMMISSIONERS, 27th March, 1892.

EARLY REGULATIONS FOR THE CONSERVATION OF THE
PEACE, STATED BY J. DUFFUS HARDY, ESQ., DEPUTY
RECORD KEEPER OF THE TOWER.

The conservancy of the peace, during the Anglo-Saxon era, was lodged in the sheriff, an officer chosen in the following way by the freeholders of each county. This officer made half-yearly visitations, at Lascy and Michaelmas, to each hundred in the county.* The visitation was called the Sheriff's *Tuere*. In every hundred there were ten *decennaries*, each composed of ten freeholders, all of whom were voluntarily pledged for each other within their decennary, to satisfy justice, in case of delinquency. Moreover, in each decennary, one was chosen as the chief of his nine companions, and the whole together were bound to bring the delinquent to justice within thirty days. If the men of the decennary to which the delinquent belonged could not purge themselves of the guilt and fight of the delinquent, and in case the *oath* of the latter were not sufficient to satisfy the ends of justice, then they themselves were liable to discharge the same out of their own estates or property.

To the visitations of the sheriff every freeholder, with his servant or servants, after he had passed the age of 12, was compelled to resort, where he was sworn to keep the peace, and obliged to abide in what decennary he belonged. There every subject in the kingdom was registered, and no person suffered to remain therein who was not so registered. Neither could any one even depart from his dwelling without the consent of his fellow pledges, nor out of the county without the consent of the sheriff.

By these administrative regulations peace was preserved within the realm, and robberies, thefts, assaults, riots, and other blunders, seldom escaped detection; and in case of the escape of an offender, the sheriff, with the "*posse comitatus*," which attended at his beck, could rouse a whole county, and soon capture the delinquent, upon whom summary punishment was inflicted, according to the nature of the offence.

Infractions of the peace were punished by fines, called *tything*, *gilds*, or *frithbuck*, and delinquents moreover were ordinarily compelled to put in sureties for their preserving the peace in future. If there were more than one delinquent, the fine was increased according to the number; if seven, it was called a *riot*, and the fine was then called *frithbote*; if thirty-five, or more, then it was deemed a rebellion.

The law of five pledges or decennaries suffered a severe shock from the Norman invasion; but the advantages of such a system were too apparent not to induce the early kings of that race anxious to preserve them as part of the tenures by which they hoped to unite the Saxons and Normans in bonds of brotherhood. The Conqueror, in one of his laws, directs, that every freeman shall be under pledges to satisfy justice in case of delinquency; (LL. Quil. c. 84.) and Henry I. orders, that over every nine pledges there is to be one in authority; also, that view of frankpledge must be, to see that the decennaries are complete; if any one be departed from either of them, to inquire the cause; and if any one be near in, whether such person be under pledges or not.

The Normans themselves, as far as it was compatible with their interests and convenience, favoured the monthly hundred courts, but the sheriff's half-yearly visitation or *tuere* was not much regarded, owing probably to its interference with the comfort of that officer, who was generally if not always a Norman, and no longer elected by the freeholders, as before, but appointed by the King.

Notwithstanding the continuance of the Norman kings to insure the conservancy of the peace through the medium of five pledges, it is evident that those laws were disregarded by Saxons as well as Normans, for how could it be reasonably expected that people so diametrically opposed to, and entertaining so thorough a dislike for each other, would cordially unite in common offices of friendship, or even of mutual intercourse?

That the Saxon laws of frankpledge soon fell into desuetude, is apparent by King Henry I. having established justice itinerant, empowering them, by royal commission, to exercise in his name various powers, and to take cognizance of many matters that had theretofore attached to the sheriff's court.

From that period the preservation of the public peace has undoubtedly resided in the Sovereign, as will be established by the instances hereinafter given, of the Parliament's acknowledging, and the King's claiming and enjoying that prerogative in despite of some attempts of the Parliament to arrogate such power to itself. But to the King, as the fountain both of justice and honour, belonged not only the execution of justice upon delinquents, but also the prevention, if possible, of offences or delinquency. The power to do both, though distributed and confided to different officers, as their appropriate duties, was therefore still centred in his name, nominally by the sheriff, and afterwards by the justices itinerant, (whose appointment took away from the sheriff the power of hearing and determining causes at his tourn as he had formerly done), and eventually by the justice of the peace.

Amongst the numerous Anglo-Saxon laws and customs revived and enforced by King John's Magna Charta, that of frankpledge is not to be found, but seems to have been forgotten, as no mention is made of it either in the articles the Barons demanded of the King, or in those the King granted. Perhaps, however, it was purposely omitted, for, by the 17th chapter, the jurisdiction exercised by the view of frankpledge over all pleas of the Crown was taken away, and such pleas were sent for trial before the King's justices; the frankpledge only retaining jurisdiction over common nuisances.

In the second great charter however of Henry III. the view of frankpledge is ordered to be held every Michaelmas term, that *tything* may be kept as it had been accustomed; and (continues the charter) "*Fit autem visus de 'frankpledge' sic videtur quod per nostra memora.*"

* The hundred court was held every month, but the sheriff visited it only every six months. The inhabitants of eaches were too numerous to meet upon every occasion, and many causes were too important to put the whole county to the expense and trouble of attending. The hundred consisted of 100 neighbouring houses in the county, amongst whom one was chosen, called the *reeve*, or lord of the hundred; to him was assigned the government of the hundred, and to him they also granted a *staple*, called *hundredtithes*. King Alfred is said to have added 12 more of the most learned to assist the reeve in the government. This was what constituted the hundred court, which met once every month.

A few years afterwards (20 Henry III.) the statute of Merton, c. 10,* (allowing suitors of the Sheriff's Court to appear by proxy, who were to act and vote as principals in all things, public as well as private), rendered freemen less zealous of their rights and interests, and to become gradually ignorant or careless of them. If any strict rule be once relaxed, even but in one particular, it is more than probable that there will be a gradual decrease in its observance, until at last it becomes difficult to enforce any portions of it; and such was the case with the law of frankpledge, for, although Henry III. did, in three of his great charters, and even in the one granted in the 20th year of his reign, ordain that the accustomed sheriff's tours and frankpledge should be held according to ancient usage; yet, if it were so hollow, it does not seem to have been then an efficacious mode of preserving the public peace, as may be inferred from the following document:

"The King to Alured de Lincoln, Ivo de Rocheford, John de Strode, and William de Kaynes, of the county of Dorset, greeting: Whereas, in our Parliament lately holden at Oxford, it was ordained, that all excesses, transgressions, and injuries, done in our realm, should be inquired into by four knights of each county, that (the truth thereof being known) those offenders might be more easily corrected; which same knights should take their oaths, in the full county court, or (if such county court be not speedily held) before the sheriff and coroner; as we have enjoined all our sheriffs faithfully to take such inquisition as aforesaid, we command you, by the faith you owe us, that, having yourselves first taken the oath beforementioned, by the oaths of good and lawful men of the county aforesaid, how when the truth can be best obtained, you diligently inquire concerning all kinds of excesses, transgressions, and injuries, in the county aforesaid, by whomsoever and upon whatsoever lately perpetrated; and this as well concerning justices and sheriffs as our bailiffs and other persons whatsoever. And such inquisition, under your own seals, as well as those of the jurors, you shall bring to Westminster, in the octaves of St. Michael, to be delivered by our own hands to our council there. Moreover, we have commanded our sheriff of the aforesaid county, that, having taken your oaths in form aforesaid, he cause good and lawful men, by whom the said inquisition may be best made, to come before you, at such days and places as you may appoint."

Four knights were appointed in each county for the same purpose.

This mode of inquiring into and preserving the peace was first shadowed out by King Henry I. in his appointment of justices itinerant; which, being afterwards confirmed and extended by the Magna Charta of King John, (ordaining that the continuance of pleas of the Crown should be in his justices), deprived the sheriffs of that portion of their duty, which it seems had not been properly enforced, namely, the punishment of offenders of the peace.

But the severest blow given to the view of frankpledge was that of the statute of Marlborough, passed in the 33d Henry III.,† which discharged the baronage and clergy from their attendance at that court, unless their appearance there was particularly required, and forbade the itinerant justices to ascend townships, on account of persons above the age of 13 years not having been sworn.

The encroachment upon the view of frankpledge was not, however, found to work well; and, to see the seeds of the statute† made about nine years after that passed at Marlborough, viz., "Forasmuch as the peace of this realm hath lately been weakly kept, for lack of quick and fresh pursuit after felons, as hath been hitherto the custom," the Legislature was obliged to provide remedies for some of the evils which had arisen from the non-observance of the Statute of Marlborough. For instance, c. 9, though making no allusion to the Statute, yet enforces it, by commanding all persons to be ready apparelled at the commandment of the sheriff, and with bow and cry to pursue and arrest felons. Contumacious or neglect of apprehending felons was also to be punished by fine and imprisonment; and no notorious felon, or such as were known to be of evil fame, were to be admitted to bail.

But as evils were daily increasing in the Kingdom, it was found to be necessary in the following year (4 Ed. I.), for the relief of the people, and speedy administration of justice, to appoint various justices to hear and determine special offences (many of which had been formerly disposed of at the sheriff's tours) as well within franchises as without.‡

This Act undoubtedly produced the best germs of the office of justice of the peace, and, combined with the powers given by Magna Charta to justices itinerant, left but little judicatory power in the sheriff's tours regarding matters against the peace, and rendered his inquisitory power less efficacious.††

Be this as may, the statute of Winchester|| (passed in the 13 Edward I.) soon reduced almost to a nullity the little yet remaining of the view of frankpledge;§§ as, by that statute, the conservancy of the peace was first lodged in, and intrusted to justices, specially authorized to inquire thereof.

The provisions of the statute recited that, when murders, arson, robberies, and thefts were committed, the inhabitants of counties were more willing to excuse offenders than to punish injuries done to strangers; and that if a felon were not himself an inhabitant of the county wherein the offence was committed, yet the receiver of the stolen goods frequently was, which produced the same partiality in juries, who consequently did not render proper satisfaction to the party plundered. It, therefore, enacted that, "in case of robbery or felony committed, and the delinquent being not forthcoming or undetained, the whole county or hundred should be held accountable;" thus taking away from juries all inducement to spare their countrymen when indicted.

To prevent the concealment of robbers in towns it was also enacted, that suspected persons were

* By stat. Merton, c. 10, it is provided and granted, that freemen who owe suit to the county, tithing, hundred, or wapentake courts, may freely make their attorneys to act for them.

† Stat. 23 Hen. III. c. 3.

‡ It was determined, in the 4th Hen. III. that, according to the laws and customs of the realm, no county or hundred court ought to be holden in any county during the presence there of the King's justices itinerant in the execution of their duty.—*Placita coram Justic. 4 Hen. III. 256 a.*

§ Stat. Hen. c. 10, c. 24.

|| Stat. Hen. c. 10, c. 24. § Stat. Westm. I. c. 9, § 3 (Edw. I.)

¶ c. 13.

§§ The rank or grade in society of those conservators of the peace is of itself sufficient to prove that their office was considered as one of great trust, and only to be confided to distinguished individuals, as

Edward, Earl of Cornwall, was appointed conservator of the King's peace for the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Surrey, Oxford, Bedford, Bucks, Berks, Northampton, Lincoln, and Rutland; and the various sheriffs, justices, knights, and other persons in these counties, are commanded to assist the Earl, and those whom he shall appoint under him to keep the peace.—*Stat. Willel. 1. c. 2.*

Richard de Amundeville was in the same year appointed conservator of the peace, together with the sheriff, in the county of Warwick; but the sheriff was to take command and direction from Richard de Amundeville as to what he did for the better preservation of the peace.—*Stat. Rich. 1. c. 2.*

Besides the above created paragonages, others were constituted in the same year to go into counties, by the purpose of making inquiries concerning those who were suspected for offences of the peace, and other offences, and of apprehending all those found guilty, and delivering them to the sheriff, to be kept in ward until the King should further direct.—*Stat. Rich. 1. c. 2.*

|| Stat. Willel. 1. c. 2.

§§ Should further information be required relative to the view of frankpledge, it can be supplied.

every market town two lawful men, who shall be sworn to enforce this commission in their respective places of abode; that persons infringing this ordinance, forestallers, and wrongdoers, shall be arrested and kept in custody until the King shall further direct; and that, in London, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs be appointed the conservators of the peace.*

Shortly afterwards commissioners were appointed throughout England, with the sheriff of each county, as conservators of the peace "chivalre law pleable;" the statute of Westminster ordered to be proclaimed and strictly observed; offenders to be pursued by the conservators with the "peace constables" from hundred to hundred, and from county to county, and taken into custody. All leetlands and constables, deputes in townships and hundreds, to be strictly enjoined to use their best endeavours for the conservation of the peace, or to become liable to imprisonment, and to heavy fines by the King, before their libetum. All disobedient persons to be arrested and kept in ward until the King shall further direct. Proclamation to be made concerning the currency and the taking of prices; and that all persons taking prices after proclamation, excepting those exempted in the proclamation, shall have hue and cry raised against them, and shall be arrested and committed to prison as disturbers of the peace, there to be detained, &c. The mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs are to be conservators for the city of London.†

In the same year justices were appointed throughout England to try persons indicted as forestallers before the conservators of the peace appointed by royal commission;‡ and, in the fourth year of the same reign, they are directed to inquire whether the sheriff, or other of the King's officers, have called offenders upon their own authority; and the justices are to inflict heavy penalties upon such offenders.§

Next year writs were addressed to every sheriff in the country, in which it is stated that certain persons assert their being empowered to act as keepers of the peace, though not appointed by the King, but by some other authority, at which the King is much surprised, since the appointment of such keepers of the peace belongs to the King and to no one else. The sheriffs are therefore commanded to make inquiry, in the most secret and discreet manner they can, as to who are the persons thus taking upon themselves to act as keepers of the peace, by virtue of commissions, other than those of the King. They are also to ascertain their names, and the forms of such commissions, and to inform the King thereof. Proclamation is then ordered to be made, that the King's peace be duly kept; all trespassers to be pursued and punished, and all persons to attend upon and obey the keepers of the peace appointed by the King, and no others.¶

In the seventh year of the same reign the mayor and sheriffs of London were appointed conservators of the peace, pursuant to the statute of Westminster, with the usual powers of arresting felons, and committing them to prison, there to remain until delivered by due course of law.¶ and similar commissions are appointed conservators of the peace throughout England.

Conservators are also to make monthly returns to the King's Council at Westminster of their proceedings, and of the names of offenders; and persons arrested, and committed to prison, are not to be liberated without the King's special command.**

Two years afterwards it is declared in Parliament that the King by his oath is bound to preserve the peace. "Adem chivalre Rex, pax ad conservatores paxi non est quibuscum populi ad obsequium conservatores pro viribus et arbitrio vicinorum paxant, velut nulli legumum obsequium dantes alii aliam auctoritatem nisi eorum mandatis, &c."††

In the 13th year of the same reign letters were addressed to all conservators of the peace, appointed by commission of the 13th April, 1 Edw II, reciting the substance of their commissions, and informing them that the King had been given to understand that evils and disorders had greatly increased, on account of the conservators having doubted whether their duties had not ceased upon the King's return from Scotland. They are then ordered to proceed forthwith in the execution of their commissions, and if found remiss, to be visited with the King's displeasure.‡‡

The King, next year, at the application of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, assembled in Parliament, ordained that all persons indicted before the custodes pacis, for homicide, arson, or other felonies, and found guilty, should be punished according to the laws of the land, &c. §§

In the same year, the community of the county of Buckingham petition the King, that Robert Fitz Nod, or Ralph de Wodeson, may be appointed, with Philip de Aylesbury, "custodes pacis," in that county, because William la Zouch, who was first appointed, refuses to act in that office. They also petition that the said Ralph de Wodeson and Robert de Ashley may be appointed justices of good delivery.

The King answers, "Go to the chancellor and treasurer, who will ordain what is expedient in the case."||

The ensuing year special conservators of the peace were appointed to several hundreds in Essex and Hertfordshire, to stop all suspicious persons, and disperse all illegal assemblies, and to deliver offenders to the sheriff or his deputy, to be kept in custody until the King should further ordain. All persons whatsoever to obey the conservators; and to the end that watch and ward might be better kept, the conservators were empowered to defray their own charges, and those of the persons whom they shall appoint as the patrol, by an assessment upon the inhabitants holding lands and tenements within the hundreds. The special conservators are in all things to be obedient to the chief conservators of the peace in the county.¶¶

From the instrument, as well as from various entries in the city records, it would seem that although the King appointed his own commissioners for the preservation of the public peace, yet he properly abstained from nominating the subordinate peace-officers, as constables, &c., or interfering with their appointments. For if he had done so, it would have been impossible for his Commissioners to have exercised that authority and control over such officers in the same manner as when such are appointable and removable by themselves alone.

The office of keeper or conservator of the peace, in the reign of Edward III., assumes a character of high importance.

Immediately after the accession of this monarch the Commons beseech the King to appoint good and loyal men to keep his peace, who replied, that they should be chosen by his council;*** and in the 16th chapter of the second statute it was ordained, "For the better keeping and maintaining of the

* Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. II. p. 1, m. 2.

† 17 March, 1 Edw. II.

‡ Rot. Claus. 5 Edw. II. m. 7, d.

§ Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 3.

¶ Rot. Claus. 12 Edw. II. m. 25, d.

†† Pet. in Stat. 14 Edw. II. No. 10.

‡‡ Pet. in Stat. 14 Edw. II. No. 10.

*** Pet. in Stat. 1 Edw. III.

† Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 21.

‡ Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. II. p. m. 22 and 15.

§ Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 14.

¶ Rot. Pat. 9 Edw. II. m. 4.

† Rot. Pat. 14 Edw. II. No. 5.

‡ Rot. Pat. 25 Edw. II. p. 1, m. 7, d.

peace, the King wills, that in every county good and loyal men shall be assigned to keep the peace; and thereupon he issued his commissions, appointing conservators of the peace in every county, giving them the usual power of making inquests, with the additional one of levying fines on those who should neglect to come, when summoned, before the conservators, and on those who should oppose or impede them in the discharge of their duty.

These newly appointed officers, "keepers of the peace," had (by the statute of Northampton, c. 3) the power of Oyer and Terminer, in matters relative to riding or going armed in aid of the peace; and two years afterwards* they had the further power of inquiry by indictment, but there were still justices appointed to hear and determine upon the offences of the felon and peace-breaker, independently of the conservators of the peace, a practice which continued down to the 34th of Edward III.

In the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the 8th Edward III.,† the King states that, as the conservation of the public peace was one of his principal inducements to assemble his Parliament, he charged it to consider him as to the best means of maintaining his peace. The prelates having declared that it did not appertain to them to counsel the King in matters touching his peace and the punishment of malefactors, the Lords and Commons then advised that a further supply of great men in each county be added to those already in the King's commission, as keepers of the peace, with power of "Oyer et Terminer," and of punishing offenders against the Statute of Westminster, and that sheriffs and other officers, with the constables in each county, shall assist the said keepers of the peace, and in levying the hue and cry; and the King, by his commission, dated 13th of February in the same year,‡ appoints conservators of the peace throughout the whole country, and directs the Commissioners to be particular in arresting peace-breakers, &c., according to the Statutes of Winton and Northampton, made for the conservation of the peace. In these new commissions the conservators are also appointed justices, to hear and determine offences made against those two statutes.

In the Parliament holden at York, in the 8th year of the same reign, the Commons petition the King to appoint in every county one learned in the law, to be chief, as a justice of the peace, and that all offences before then (the justices) be used to outlawry; and that such justices do yearly give in an account of their doings before the King. To this petition the King replies, that he will be advised thereon, but that they shall send in an abstract of their proceedings to the treasurer annually.

The petitioners also pray, that all justices of the peace may have some certain fee, to which the King answers, that he will provide thereof. Also it is ordered, that justices of the peace in every county, with the justices of the benches, and justices of assize, shall determine concerning false jurors and maintainers.

In some of the commissions for the conservancy of the peace issued during this year, it is stated that the King with his magnates, in council of Parliament, then sitting at Westminster, is considering what is most expedient to be done for the better conservation of the peace. He, however, appoints conservators with the usual powers, and also allows them to appoint certain persons, to assist them until the King shall ordain further. That he paid no further attention to the petition of his Commons on this matter, may be inferred from the fact, that the commissions issued did not contain any of the clauses wished for by the Commons.

At a Parliament summoned to Westminster in the 12th of the same reign,§ when Edward III. was in France asserting his claim to the throne of France, it having been stated by the Count of Flanders, that the conservation of the public peace was one of the principal objects in summoning Parliament; the Commons said that they considered the keepers of the peace to have sufficient power in their commissions to restrain all violators of the peace, but if unable or insufficient of themselves, to quell such, they are then to call others to their assistance, by the advice of the knights of their shires; and then such as are admitted to magistracy, do put in good securities, as esquires or gentlemen, according as the case may require.

The Parliament, in the 18th year of the same reign,** recommends the King to appoint persons of the best reputation in each county to be justices of the peace; and that they, with others learned in the law, shall hear and determine felonies and trespasses done against the peace, and inflict reasonable punishment according to law. To which prayer the King assented; and it was so enacted, as the second chapter of the statutes†† of that year show.

The commissions issued in this year do not contain the Oyer and Terminer clauses sought for in the petition;‡‡ but, in the commission for Cambridgeshire, the Commissioners have the further power, or rather are also appointed justices, to hear and determine matters concerning the peace.§§ This commission is said to have been issued at the petition of Parliament. A similar petition was likewise issued from Oxford, which also appointed the esquires paid justices of Oyer and Terminer for that county, &c. and from this up to the 34th year of the same reign, the King, in his commissions to the conservators of the peace, frequently invested them with the additional power of hearing and determining the felonies of those whom they had already committed to prison.

In the 20th year of the same reign, the Commons again pray, that the best men of every county may be made justices of the peace, with power to decide upon all felonies. The first point the King grants; but, as to the second, replies, that he will appoint learned justices, according to the ordinance respecting them in the last Parliament.

Again, in the next year,¶¶ the King charges the Commons to advise him how the peace of the land may be better maintained; who answer, that none in each county should elect six persons from amongst the most wealthy and loyal persons therein; that two of such persons should be great men, two knights, and two lawyers; and that full power should be given to them by royal commission to hear and determine felonies and trespasses, and other points touching the conservancy of the peace; seeing that such persons, from their being resident in the county, were likely (to the greater ease and less grievance of the county) to punish felonies and trespasses in a better manner, and more frequently than other justices non-resident therein.

The King made no answer to this recommendation; or probably, owing to its being the last thing done in that Parliament, it was not enrolled.

* Stat. 4 Edw. III. c. 2.

† Stat. 8 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 22, 4.

‡ Stat. 8 Edw. III. p. 8, m. 13, in verso.

§ Stat. 12 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 10 Edw. III.

† Stat. 8 Edw. III.

‡ Stat. 8 Edw. III.

§ Stat. 12 Edw. III.

¶ Stat. 18 Edw. III. c. 2, which enacts, that two or three of the most substantial persons in the counties shall be appointed guardians of the peace by commission of the King; and whenever need may require, the same, with other wise and learned in the law, shall be assigned by the King's commission to hear and determine felonies and trespasses against the peace in the same counties, and inflict reasonable punishment, according to the nature of the offence.

‡‡ See Stat. 21 p. 2, 22 Edw. III. m. 25 and 46.

§§ Ibid. m. 31.

¶¶ Ibid. m. 8.

** Stat. 21 Edw. III.

The Commons next year (22nd of the same reign) pray the King, in Parliament, that there may be two great men, knights of each county, and two men of the law, with commission to hear and determine offences against the peace; and that they be sworn in Parliament concerning such matters loyally to hear, and determine, and inquire, at least three times a-year; and that a certain fee be ordained to them out of the issues proceeding from their commissions; and that the same justices do inquire concerning false money; also that good money be in no wise altered.

To this it is answered, that a reply was given in the last Parliament, but, on the Parliament rolls for the 21st of this reign, no such reply is to be found, as is before noticed; and, in the commissions to the conservators of the peace, no such powers are assigned to them as were requested by the Commons in the Parliaments of either the 21st or 22nd year.

In the 25th year of the same reign, it was ordered that no person should go armed, either in the city of London or Westminster, excepting those deputed to keep the peace.

By the statute of labourers,* justices are to hold sessions four times a-year, and at all times needed for the conservation of the peace; and in staple towns, the mayors and two constables are directed to keep the peace and to arrest all evil-doers in the staple, for trespass, debt, or breach of contracts; and imprison or otherwise punish them according to the law of the staple.

Again, in the 28th year of the same reign, the Commons petition the King on the subject of justices of the peace,† praying that such persons may be the most loyal, wise, and wealthy individuals of the counties wherein they reside; and that no justice be commissioned unless he have sufficient estate to answer to the King and the people in case of default; which petition being considered by the King as reasonable, he consented thereto.

The Commons, in the next year (the 29th), pray that no sheriff, nor others, having the custody of prisoners, be put into any commission of inquiry concerning trespasses, felonies, or other offences for which men are imprisoned; because sheriffs, constables, and gaolers have been so commissioned, and, under colour of such commissions, have unjustly indicted persons, and demanded heavy fines for their ransoms. To this the King replied that, as to the first point in the petition, he wille that it be so ordained.

Between the 29th and 34th years of this reign (the Parliament rolls being wanting), it cannot be ascertained what was the nature of the petitions of the Commons to the King, which induced him to grant to justices of the peace the power of hearing and determining, at the King's writ, all manner of felonies and trespasses committed in the same counties, according to the laws and customs of the realm; since he had as often before either refused or evaded to do so.

However that may be, it was enacted, in the 34th year of this reign,‡ that in every county of England there should be assigned for keeping the peace one lord, and with him three or four of the most worthy persons in the county, with some learned in the law, who should have power to restrain parties, arrest, imprison, and chastise offenders, according to the nature of their offences; and to hear and determine, at the King's writ, all manner of felonies and trespasses done in the same county, &c.; and to inquire concerning weights and measures, according to statute 26 Edward III., stat. 5, c. 9.

To a petition in Parliament (of the 36th year of this reign§) by the Commons, praying the King that justices of the peace might have reasonable fees, and power to inquire, as well within liberties as without, into matters concerning victuallers, regraters, and forestallers as of labourers and of artificers.

The King answered, that he would inform his chancellor and treasurer of his consideration.

But upon a petition of the same Commons to the King, that in his commissions to justices of the peace, and of labourers, he would make express mention that those justices were to hold sessions four times a-year, the King consented thereto; and in the Parliament it was enacted that, in the commissions of justices of the peace, and of labourers, express mention be made that the same justices hold their sessions four times a-year; and by the 14th chapter of the same statute,** justices of the peace are to audit the accounts of collectors of the universal quinquages, and compel them to make full distribution, according to the enactments of this statute.

In the Parliament holden the following year,†† the Commons beseech the King to grant to those knights of shires, and citizens, and burgesses assembled in Parliament, power to elect persons as justices of the peace, and justices of labourers and artificers, and that the same persons so elected may not be moved and others less sufficient placed in their stead; to which the King answered, that the Parliament might name such persons as they thought fit, but that he would appoint whom he pleased.

In the 43d year of the same reign, the Commons petition the King to ordain that commissions of inquiry, which had lately been indented to interested persons, should only be granted to judges, justices of assize, or justices of the peace. The King approved of this petition, excepting the office of escheator, and it was forthwith enacted accordingly by Parliament, forming the fourth chapter of the statutes of that year.

In the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the 50th year §§ of the same reign, the Commons pray the King, that the justices of the peace may be named by Parliament, and be sworn before the King's council, as others are sworn; and that they may not be moved without the assent of Parliament, which would be to the great advantage of the King; also, that they may be allowed reasonable fees. To this prayer the King made answer, that the justices should be named by the King and his continual council; but about their fees, the King would be advised.

In this Parliament the Commons also prayed the King to ordain, that sheriffs of counties and justices of the peace should (when they went to arrest certain rioters and put them in prison) take with them the "poene constabular," or be subject to a heavy penalty. The King replied that, with the advice of his great council, he would ordain a fitting remedy, but that the statutes upon this subject are to be duly observed. And, when the same Parliament brought the King|| to order mayors and bailiffs of cities and boroughs to take and arrest all peace-breakers in houses adjoining walled towns, and commit them to custody or bailiffs, to keep in ward until they shall have obtained sufficient mainprise, the King answered, that he would take advice thereupon.

In the 51st year of the same reign, the Commons once more petition the King upon the subject of justices of the peace, praying the King to ordain, that justices of the peace shall not be allowed to make inquiry of matters which can be adjudged in any lord's court, or view of frankpledge, or in boroughs having franchise; but only of matters touching the safeguard of the peace, and the improve-

* Stat. 26 Edw. III. (stat. 2) c. 7.

† Stat. 28 Edw. III. No. 25.

‡ Stat. 36 Edw. III. c. 1.

§ The word used for lord in the statute is *seigneur*; but it is by no means signify a peer or nobleman. It signifies anything but a man of property, perhaps the lord of a manor.

|| Stat. 36 Edw. III. c. 8.

** Stat. 36 Edw. III. c. 14.

†† Pet. in Parl. 26 Edw. III. No. 29.

§§ Pet. in Parl. 27 Edw. III. No. 13.

|| Pet. in Parl. 26 Edw. III. No. 10.

¶ This was during the civil contention towards the end of the reign of Edward III.

|| Pet. in Parl. 26 Edw. III. No. 10.

sment of laborers; and that their sessions be holden four times a-year, in places most convenient to the people.

The King made answer, that his statutes hitherto made could not be kept if he granted this petition.

Such was the interest which Parliament took in the appointments of justices of the peace during the reign of Edward III.; and the King's answer to the petition of the Commons prove, that he was resolute in not allowing any diminution of his prerogative of preserving the public peace.

The good resulting to all classes of people from the appointment of justices of the peace was very great; for under the jurisdiction of those officers, many things (during the reign of Edward III. and of his grandson and successor, Richard II.) which would otherwise have been submitted to the decision of the King's council, or of the justices of the King's bench, thus fell to the management of those justices of the peace; and the public, generally speaking, were of course better satisfied to trust their lives and estates to men of character and influence in their respective counties than to strangers.

Parliament, during the reign of Richard II. did not relax its interest in the appointments of justices of the peace, but exhibited nearly as much concern on that account as it did during the reign of his predecessor.

Upon his accession to the throne, Richard II. being then of such tender age, his council entirely governed the country, and performed for him various acts touching the regulation and maintenance of the peace; and the Commons soon commenced their petitions to the King in council of Parliament.

In that holden at Gloucester, in the second year of this reign, the Commons inform the King that, for the common profit of the realm, it has been ordained by statutes made in various Parliaments, that justices of the peace, and of laborers, victualers, and artificers, should be assigned in every county, to hold sessions as often as need should be, and to punish offenders, &c., which justices, in many counties, do nothing beyond deducting their wages out of the fines and amercements, much to the damage of the King; and that evil-doers, &c., go unpunished. The Commons then pray, that the statutes affecting those officers may be duly observed, and offenders punished; moreover, that wages be assigned to the said justices for their sessions, and that sufficient justices and learned men be appointed in each county, to perform the proper duties of such justices.

To this petition the King answers: "Let two or three of the justices, who have held their sessions for the good of the King and his people, have the sixth part of the profits arising from their retreats for our year only."

In the same Parliament, the Commons further declare to the King, that, in various counties, sheriffs have been appointed, by the King's commission, justices of the peace in the same counties where they are sheriffs, and that in their sessions of the peace, they cause persons to be indicted for felonies and trespasses for the purpose of exacting outrageous bail and fines to the great oppression of the people; the Commons therefore pray the King to ordain, that no sheriff shall be justice of the peace for the county of which he is sheriff.

To this the King answered, "Le Roi le veut."

Moreover, the Commons, in this same Parliament, supplicate the King for six or seven persons to be appointed, in each county, justices of the peace, of whom two are to be skilled in the law, and that they be fully charged to hold their sessions, four times a-year at least, to hear and determine, and punish offences against the statutes, according to their discretion; also, that all justices who shall be present at those sessions have wages from the King for their days of attendance, to be paid them by the hands of the sheriffs of their respective counties; also, that justices of the peace, sheriffs, lords of manors, constables, and landlads, in each county, may have power to arrest vagrants, according to the statutes, &c.; and that those who refuse to serve shall be committed to prison, &c.; also, that the said justices may be chosen, by the advice of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, from the most learned and wealthy in each county, who are able and willing occasionally to discharge the duties of such office.

To this petition the following answer was returned.

The King, by advice of his council, will appoint a reasonable number of good and sufficient justices, of each county in England, bearing in mind the extent of the county. He wills that they be not removed, and that no others be associated with them, without the assent of his council. The King also wills that the punishments fixed by previous statutes be duly executed; and as to the wages of justices of the peace, the King wills that the two or three justices who attended the sessions for the good of the King and his people, shall have the sixth part of the profits arising out of their retreats, until the next Parliament.

In the third year of the same reign, the Commons pray the King that, in the commissions of justices of the peace, he will have inserted the following clauses.

That they may have power to inquire into and execute the statute of purveyors; that they may have power to inquire into and determine, concerning extortions, confederacies, and maintenance of quarrels, also heretics notoriously considered, murders and slaughter of men by malice prepense, without waiting for the arrival of justices of assize; that they may carry into execution the statute of *livery*; that they may inquire into and determine unlawful ridings; and respecting those who lie in wait, &c., that all persons indicted and convicted for any of these offences shall forfeit his goods and chattels to the King and be imprisoned for a year and a day; and, if such persons have no chattels, that then they be imprisoned for two years, without bail, unless by the King's special command; and, upon their deliverance, find sufficient security for their future good behavior.

To this petition the King made this answer.

The King wills and commands (by assent of the Lords temporal) that the justices of the peace have the like power that they had in their last commission; adding however to those commissions, the especial power to hear and determine houselees, extortions, unlawful ridings, lying in wait, and unlawful livery, committed against the statutes before that time made. Provided always, that in difficult cases of extortions, one of the justices of either bench, or a justice of assize, be present when they proceed to judgment in that behalf. But, concerning forfeitures and penalties, the King will take advice thereupon; but he wills that the accustomed law in such cases be duly executed.

In the same Parliament the Commons further petition the King, that justices of the peace may hold their sessions, according to the statutes, and that they shall have half a mark each for every day that they hold their sessions, and their clerks, two shillings, out of the fines and amercements, &c.; also, that justices of the peace be elected by the present Parliament; and that their number be limited to eight, who are to be of the most sufficient knights and esquires of the county, two of whom are to be skilled in the law; also, that each justice of the peace be to deliver, by *indicture*, an extent of the fines, losses, and amercements inflicted by himself, by the sheriff of his county; and that sheriffs have warrant to pay the said justices their wages from sessions to sessions, &c.

To which the King replied, that, as to the wages of justices, it is agreed that each knight shall have four shillings, each esquire two shillings, and their clerks twelve pence, for each day that they hold their assizes in the town prescribed; also, that they shall hold their assizes four times a year, for two or three days together, in each county, according to the size of the county, or the business to be perfected; and, as to the indentures, and the mode of payment of their wages, the King approves thereof; but, with respect to the number and names of the justices being submitted to Parliament in writing, the King will take advice thereupon; also, that the justices shall have the power of hearing and determining homicides, and other things before written, and that they shall be sworn to do right in the same manner as the King's other justices are.

Upon the termination of this Parliament, the Lords temporal, being at a grand council, passed the ordinance made in Parliament, touching the power of justices of the peace, to be read, in the presence of the Chancellor, Treasurer, and all the judges, and themselves; because, they said, that their intent was not directly understood or enrolled in that Parliament; that amongst other articles and points, the same justices of the peace should have power to hear and determine all manner of felonies, as well at the suit of the King, as of the party, and of certain other articles contained in the said power. They also made another declaration, concerning a note to be inserted in the commission, by the advice of all the justices as well of both benches as others; and that note having been read before the whole council, they approved of its being passed under the great seal in that form. The terms of the amended commissions are set out on the Parliament roll of the third year of this reign.

Then certain persons are to be appointed conservators of the peace, according to the statutes of Winton, Northampton, and Westminster, to punish offenders against these statutes. The same conservators are also appointed justices to inquire upon oath, as well within liberties as without, into all manner of offences, such as felonies, robberies, homicides, murders, and other felonies, transgressions, forestallings, regratins, extortions, &c., in the counties wherein they are constituted or perpetrated; also, to inquire into offences against the laws, to repress unlawful assemblies, the statute of liveries, hostilities, weights and measures, labourers, &c., and to issue process against all those indicted for those offences, as well at the suit of the King as of other persons. Provided always that, in difficult cases of extortion, no judgment shall be given, except in the presence of one of the King's judges of either bench, or judge of assize. The justices are also to hear and determine all felonies or other offences indicated before them as justices of the peace.

In the fifth year of Richard II.,^{*} the Commons beseech the King (on account of the unusual number of robberies and felonies committed in the roads at that time) that justices of the peace may be invested with power to proceed to goal delivery; to which the King assented, provided there were five persons present at least, one of whom should be learned in the law.

In the Parliament of the seventh year[†] of the same reign, justices of the peace were empowered to examine vagabonds, and bind them to good behaviour, or commit them to prison. Similar power was given to officers of the peace.

In the sixth year of the same reign, the statute of purveyors and buyers was ordered to be enforced; and that justices of the peace should have power to hear and determine the same.

In the twelfth year,[‡] it was ordained that, in every commission of the justices of the peace, there should be assigned but six justices, with the justices of the names, and that the said justices should keep their assizes every quarter of the year; also, that they should have for their wages four shillings a-day, during their assizes.

In the thirteenth year,[§] the Commons pray, that justices of peace be made anew, from the most sufficient knights, esquires, and lawyers, of the several counties; and that the said justices be sworn, before the Chancellor and King's council, duly to execute the various statutes and ordinances made for the conservation of the peace; also, that they hold their assizes four times a year, at least, and at the same periods throughout the realm, taking for their wages four shillings per day as was established by the Parliament holden at Canterbury.

To this petition the King made this answer:—

The King wills, that justices of the peace be newly appointed, in each county throughout England, of the most sufficient knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the law, notwithstanding the statute made at Cambridge, and that the said justices should take the oath duly to observe the execution of the statutes and ordinances touching their office; and, in the same year, it was by statute so enacted.[¶]

In the 14th year of the same reign,^{**} eight justices of the peace are ordered to be assigned in each county, and if any duke, earl, baron, or banneret, be in the commission of the peace, and hold assizes with other justices their colleagues, yet they shall not take any wages for the said office.

The various statutes passed in the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th years^{††} of Richard II., recognized and multiplied the powers of justices of the peace, by giving them power to execute the Statute of Northampton, to settle the wages of labourers and servants, to punish unlawful huntings, and regratins of wood, false weights in the staple, unlawful wearing of liveries, unlawful dealings, contrary to the Statute of Westminster. In the 17th the Commons pray, that, in every commission of the peace, there shall be at least two lawyers assigned to proceed to the trial of felons and robbers; which the King consents to, and it is thenceforward so enacted, as appears by a 10 of the Acts of this Session.

From the foregoing statements it is evident that the justices of the peace, up to this period, could, of themselves, do many things for the conservation, but, in cases of Oyer and Terminer, that they could only act in public sessions.

The political divisions of society, consequent upon the usurpation of the House of Lancaster, having almost produced a civil war, the maintenance of public peace became an object of great solicitude to Henry IV. That monarch, therefore, reposed great confidence and trust in his council, regarding those matters, knowing that it is more easy to prevent the peace from being broken, than to restore it afterwards, even with an armed power. The council advised the King to issue new commissions to justices of the peace and the sheriffs throughout the realm, commanding them to use their utmost endeavours to suppress all riots and civil commotions. It also recommended that, in each county, a certain number of the most efficient men of good fame should be retained by the King, and associated with those in the commission of the peace, and that such persons should be paid a reasonable salary, according to their condition in life; and for the better support of such charge, that the King should retain, in his hands, all the lordships and revenues which fell to the Crown by way of forfeitures. By a minute of the council, it appears that letters patent, under the great seal, were ordered to be

^{*} Stat. Parl. 5 Ric. II. No. 60.

[†] Stat. 12 Ric. II. c. 3 and 14.

[‡] 12 Ric. II.

[§] Stat. 13 Ric. II. c. 7, 8, 13.

[¶] Stat. 7 Ric. II. c. 6.

^{**} Stat. Parl. Ric. II.

^{††} Stat. 14 Ric. II. c. 13.

^{‡‡} Stat. 15 Ric. II. c. 7, 8, 13; Stat. 16 Ric. II. c. 4, 12; Stat. 15 Ric. II. c. 2; Stat. 16 Ric. II. c. 4; Stat. 17 Ric. II. c. 9; Stat. 17 Ric. II. No. 4; Stat. 20 Ric. II. c. 1.

directed to justices of the peace and sheriffs throughout the kingdom, instructing them to make proclamation against all unlawful assemblies, &c.*

By statute 5 Hen. IV., c. 3) it was ordained, that in all commissions of the peace to be made from that time forward, this article should be inserted: "That justices of the peace have power to make inquiry, at their sessions, from time to time, as to the watch upon the sea-coast, as under the Statute of Windsor, 13 Edward I., and to punish defaulters according to the law of the said statute;" and by the 10th chapter of the same it was thus enacted, "Because diverse constables of watch within the realm of England have been by the King's commission appointed justices of the peace, and under colour of such commission they take up people to whom they bear ill-will, and imprison them in their castles until they pay fine and ransom for their deliverance, it is ordained and established, that no person shall be imprisoned by any justice of the peace, but only in the common goal, excepting by those kinds who have power within their franchises."

By statute 7 Hen. IV., c. 8, justices of the peace in every county have the power to inquire into all defaults committed by arrow-head makers, and to punish such offenders.

By statute 13 Hen. IV., c. 8, justices of the peace and sheriffs are empowered to arrest rioters, inquire into and record their offences, and it is ordained that a certificate of the justices and sheriff shall certify tender to the King in council, which shall be equivalent to the verdict of a jury; the reverse of such a certificate to be tried at the King's Bench. Justices of the peace, omitting to comply thereto, to be fined 100*l*.

By statute 1 Henry V., justices of the peace are empowered to inquire into, hold pleas, and punish offenders against the chapter which relates to the measuring of corn.

By the second statute, in the second year of Henry V.; it was ordained, at the special request of the Commons, that thenceforward justices of the peace should be appointed from the most sufficient men in the counties, resident respectively therein, by the advice of the Chancellor and King's council, without taking other persons dwelling in different counties, excepting in the case of some few official proceedings issued in the statute; from which time it seems that justices of the peace have always been nominated by the King's council; and, by the fifth chapter in the same statute, justices of the peace have power to inquire into, hear, and determine of certain treasons and felonies committed by the Welsh and their adherents, as well as the King's suit as at the party's; also, if offenders do not appear before the said justices to answer according to law, till they by the custom of the realm be outlawed, justices shall signify the same to the lord of the sovereignty where such offenders reside.

The statute of labourers was ordered to be firmly kept and put in due execution; and that justices of the peace be empowered to send their writs to sheriffs commanding them to issue such process as the law requires to bring fugitives and labourers before them as justices of the peace, to answer for all contempt and trespasses, in the same manner as the justices have power to send to every sheriff for the felons indicted before them; also that justices of the peace in the quorum shall be resident in their respective counties, unless they be one or other of the King's judges, &c.; and that they shall hold sessions four times a-year. Justices of the peace shall also have power to examine labourers and masters upon oath.

By statute of the same year, justices of the peace have power to inquire into all offences, on oath of tellards, their maintainers, inventors, &c., and to award a capias against all offenders, and sheriffs are bound to arrest all such persons so indicted; and to have the power of inquiry into all crimes from prison, also into the value of the lands and rents of persons so indicted, &c.

By statute 3 Henry V., justices of the peace are empowered to inquire and award process, and to hear and determine as to felons guilty of coming; but by the statute of the following year,[†] in cases of felons for coining, justices of the peace have power to inquire into such matters, and thereupon to issue process of capias against those who shall thereof be indicted before them.

The power of justices of the peace, during the two preceding reigns, had arrived at its zenith; and consequently there remained but few additional powers which could be conferred upon them by Henry VI. It would therefore be tedious to enter into a detailed account of the number of offences which they had the power of inquiring into, hearing, and determining, and which were recognized and recognized in this reign. In the 11th year of it, however, a very important enactment took place, founded upon a petition of the Commons to the King upon the subject, namely,† that those indictments and processes (begun before justices of the peace who should be removed by the appointment of new commissioners, prior to those times and indictments being determined) should nevertheless be continued by the new justices as if no new commission had been made. Still the Parliament did not seem to take that deep interest in the appointment of these officers which it had theretofore done. The evil consequence of which is apparent by the petition of the Commons, in the 16th year of this monarch's reign.

The Commons inform the King, that by various statutes made in the time of his progenitors, it had been ordained, that justices of the peace should be selected from amongst the most sufficient men in each county; yet, notwithstanding those statutes, great numbers of very needy persons had been appointed to fill that office in several counties, whose poverty made them both covetous, and contemptible in the eyes of the inhabitants, and that their extortions and oppressions were daily increasing and required speedy remedy. The Commons, therefore, pray the King to ordain and establish in the present Parliament, that no justice of the peace be appointed in any county unless he have lands and tenements to the value of 200 *per annum*; and if any one should be appointed without such qualification, that he is to certify the same to the Chancellor, who will appoint another person to his stead; and if he do not within one month so inform the Chancellor of his insufficiency, he shall incur a penalty of 200*l*. The ordinance, however, is not to extend into cities, towns, or boroughs, which are of themselves counties incorporate, nor to those in which justices of the peace are appointed by royal commission.

To this the King replied, "Le Roi le veut;" provided always, that if there be not men sufficient, having lands and tenements of the said value skilled in the law, and of good governance, within any such county, that the Chancellor for the time being, according to his discretion, shall have power to put in their stead other discreet persons learned in the law, although not possessed of lands or tenements to that value. And it was consequently so enacted, forming the 11th chapter of the statute of that year.

In this and the succeeding reigns a very important increase of the numbers of justices of the peace, and change in the mode of appointing some of them, took place. The King, by his royal charters,

* 5 Edw. I. 226.

† Stat. 2 Hen. V. c. 4.

† Stat. 4 Hen. V. c. 7.

† Stat. 1 Hen. V. c. 10.

† Stat. 2 Hen. V. c. 7, 8, and 9.

† Stat. 11 Hen. VI. c. 6.

† Stat. 3 Hen. V. c. 1.

† Stat. 3 Hen. V. c. 1.

conferred upon the mayors and aldermen of the principal cities and boroughs in the kingdom, and their successors, the offices of justices of the peace within their several jurisdictions, besides the usual numbers appointed by royal commission, who generally retained their office during the reign of each monarch.

Notwithstanding the augmentation of their numbers, it was found in the reign of Henry VII. that justices of the peace were negligent of their duties, and remiss in executing the laws; and it became necessary to pass an Act in the fourth year of this reign, concerning the performance of their duties.

In the 20th year of this reign, a very important decision took place which completely proves, if further proof were necessary, that the Crown alone can appoint justices of the peace, and that it cannot delegate the power of appointing justices of the peace, all such grants being void *ab initio*.

In *Michlases term*, 30 Hen. VII.* a case was argued in the King's Bench, arising out of a charter granted to the Abbot of St. Alban's, and his successors, conferring upon them the privilege of appointing the King's justices of the peace within the liberties of St. Alban's. The Attorney-General objected, amongst other points, that the King could not grant to any person the right of appointing his justices, in which opinion the Court agreed and the chief justice (*Walsley*) declared such a grant to be void, because the Crown could not make a grant to any man of a right to appoint justices;† by a patent, for a patent is not of record, and therefore could not make a justice of record, that being a right annexed to the Crown, from which it could not be severed; and that, for a similar reason, grants to pardon felonies, or to make denizens, were void, as thereby conferring upon subjects a right too great to be intrusted to any other hands than those of the Government, without being held to grant alone.

This was a very important decision upon the subject, for it seems that Henry VII. must have been in the habit of making such grants. In the eighth year of his reign, he granted‡ to the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough a privilege of appointing three or more persons to be justices of the peace in and for the borough of Peterborough, and within all the lordships of the Abbot of Peterborough.

Notwithstanding the decision of the Court of King's Bench, the number of similar appointments rendered it necessary, however, in the next reign to make a public statute on the subject, intitled, "An Act of confirming the liberties of the Crown,"§ which completely removes any doubt that might have existed on this subject.

From the foregoing statements, I think, it may be collected, that the primary duties of justices of the peace were simply those of conservators of the peace; that in *declaring* and *issuing* their powers, by the Statute of *Winton*, their functions became thus approximated nearer to those of directors and counsellors to the sheriff in his pursuit and apprehension of felons; but as population increased, civil commotions, the advancement of foreign trade, the refinements of luxury, and other causes dependent thereon, changed the customs and manners of the kingdom, and produced many alterations in our law and constitution. Crimes became too general, too numerous, and some of these too insignificant, for the judges to attend to, and thus the office of conservator of the peace was found to be a useful auxiliary to the superior courts, in muzzing those of trifling matters, and gradually assumed a judicial importance never contemplated at its first creation. It will also be seen that (up to the period when Sir Christopher Wray, with the other judges of England assembled, and after carefully perusing the ancient forms of conservators of the peace, made various salutary alterations therein¶), the above-appointing conservators of the peace was the first in the commission, and the clause conferring the judicial authority of hearing and determining felonies, which followed next in order, were distinct from the conservatory clause.

Having thus merely sketched out a history of the office of justice of the peace, (from its institution to the reign of Hen. VIII.) as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit without entering into a too tedious detail of the various and accumulated powers intrusted to these magistrates, I have taken leave of the subject, as from the period to which I have traced it, all remaining information relative to the subject may be derived from the works of *Larnard*, *Dalton*, *Fitcher*, and *Burn*, authors whom I have not had time to consult on this occasion, nor, indeed, have I felt it necessary to do so, as their works are of course already familiar to one who has so much distinguished himself by his knowledge upon the subject.

"Were not the judicial functions (namely of hearing and determining charges of offences against the law, and awarding punishment, and of the procedure thereto,) separated from the functions of a police, or watch and ward, pursuit and apprehension?"

"Were not the justices of the peace, in addition to the sheriff, the directors of the police, superintendents of preventive measures other than simple punishments?"

Answers to both of these questions are either included or implied in the preceding statements.

"What sort of person was the 'better sort of parishioner' who was ordered to be appointed as constable? and what was the substantial householder in the reign of Elizabeth?"

The better sort of parishioner, and substantial householder were, as I apprehend, in those days, of a class somewhat similar to that of persons so denominated at present; that is, of the same rank and influence in society during the reign of Elizabeth as such persons held in the reign of William IV., allowing for the difference in the value of money, and some changes in the relative condition of the various classes of society, which it is here unnecessary to dwell upon further than merely to intimate that £50 per annum

* 30 Hen. VII. fol. 8.

† This opinion and decision of the Court of King's Bench could not affect the *Duchy of Lancaster* for the Duke of Lancaster, as service (before that title was assumed by the Crown of England in the reign of Henry IV.) had enjoyed *jure regie* within his extensive possessions from the creation of the Duchy. That sovereign subject, the Duke of Lancaster, carried within his Duchy and Palatinate of Lancaster, *jure regie* almost collected, such as issuing writs for the election of a coroner, for the election of members of Parliament, appointing his own sheriff, justice of the peace, justices of Oyer and Terminer, and justices of goal delivery; he also made grants of pardon to felons, &c. Some of such rights may also have been inherent in the other Palatinates of Chester and Durham, which, if deemed of importance, can be ascertained. There are upon record some grants to colonised corporations of the royal privilege of commission of breach of the peace, such, for instance, as that granted by King John to the Abbot of Reading. "In this possession was certain justitia de assensu, et factis et maribus, et scriptis affinis, et pacis *fratrum*, quoniam de Regum, per totum portum de *de comibus foris*." See the petition to the King in Council upon this claim in 4 Edw. III. No. 57. Præsumes somewhat similar were attached to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. See petition to the King in Council, 14 Edw. II. No. 81. Rot. Pat. 17 Ed. III. Rot. Pat. 12 Ric. II. No. 14. Rot. Pat. 4 Ric. V.

With the exception of the Duke of Lancaster (who has a Court of Chancery of his own), it cannot, I think, be asserted that any noblesse had any jurisdiction over a justice of the peace, even within his territories, though it might (before the Statute of Hen. VIII.) appoint a deputy to act in their behalf.

‡ Charter dated 27th June, 5 Hen. VII. See two cases on the same subject in Ric. I. 139, and Butler 100.

§ Stat. 30 Hen. VII. c. 24, sec. 2, 35, and 36. § 30, 35 Stat.

¶ I believe, though I am not certain, that the form of the commissions of the peace sanctioned by these judges in 1550, is still retained, and remains the conservative distinct from the judicative classes.

would then have probably enabled a man to establish his household on a footing as respectable as an income of £200 in those more general luxurious times.

The following descriptions, taken from writers in the reigns of Edward VI. and his sister Queen Elizabeth, will corroborate the truth of the above remark.

Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached before Edward VI., March 8, 1548, gave the following account of his family :—

"My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds a year at the utmost, and hereupon he till'd so much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walls for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kye. He was able and did find the King a horse, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath Field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with 5*l*, or 20 nobles, a piece, so that he brought them up in gentleness, and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some times he gave to the poor; and all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth 18*l*. by year, or there, and is not able to do anything for his pains, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor."

Hereafter, in his description of the different degrees of People of England,* has thrown considerable light upon this subject. In his notice of citizens and burghers, he thus speaks:—

"Citizens and burghers be those that are free within the cities, and are of some like substance to bear office in the same. But these citizens or burghers are to serve the commonwealth in their cities and burghs, or in corporate towns where they dwell. And in the Common Assembly of the realm, wherein our laws are made, for in the counties they bear but little sway (which Assembly is called the High Court of Parliament)."

Of yeomen he says,—"*Yeomen* are those which, by our law, are called *legales homines*, freemen borne English, and may dispose of their own free land in yearly service to the sum of 40*l*. sterling or 5*l*. as some youth in our times. That word is derived from the Saxons term *Zelman* or *Geoman*, which signifieth (as I have read) a settled or staid man. Such I mean as being married, and of some years betwixt himself to stain in the place of his abode, for the better maintenance of himself and his familie, whereof the single sort have no regard, but are like to be still footing, now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of judgment, for the execution of things of some importance. This sort of people have a certaine prebendances and more estimation than labourers, and the common sort of artificers; and these commonly live wealthilie, keep good houses, and travell to get riches. They are also for the most part farrers to gentlemen, or at the leastwise artificers; and with grazing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants (not idle servants as the gentlemen doe, but such as get both their own and part of their master's living), do come to great wealth, inasmuch that many of them are able to buy the lands of unthrifilie gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools, to the universities, and to the bar of court; or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, doe make them by those means to become gentlemen; these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And, altho, they be not called *Nobles* as gentlemen are, or *Sir* as to knights appertaineth, but some John and Thomas, &c., yet have they been found to have done verie good service; and the Kings of England in straight battles were wont to number among them (who were their footmen), as the French Kings did amongst their horsemen, the Prison thereby showing where his chief strength did consist."

He then proceeds to say that "The fourth and last sort of people in England are *day-labourers*, *poore husbandmen*, and *small retailers* (which have no free land), *copy-holders*, and all artificers, as *tailors*, *shoemakers*, *carpenters*, *brick-makers*, *masons*, &c. This fourth and last sort of people, therefore, have neither voice nor authority in the commonwealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule others; yet they are not altogether neglected; for in cities and corporate towns (for default of yeomen) they are faine to make up their numbers of such manner of people. And in villages they are commonly made *churchwardens*, *side-men*, *ale-conners*, *wardens* and then *constables*, and many times enjoy the name of *headboroughs*."

* This work was printed in 1586, and dedicated to Sir William Brooke.

SUPPLEMENT.

F I.

MEMORANDUM EXPLAINING THE REASONS FOR ADOPTING FOR POLICE PURPOSES THE "GUARD" OR "THREES" FORMATION; AND WHAT IS MEANT BY A "GUARD CONSISTING OF TWO MEN AND ONE GUARD-LEADER."

The ordinary formation in two complete ranks, viz., front and rear, is not so well adapted to police as to military purposes, and for these reasons, viz. :—

- 1st. The baton or police weapon can only be used to the same front by one rank, whereas the rifle or military arm can be used simultaneously by both ranks.
- 2nd. In a baton charge neither the rear nor the supernumerary rank can strike until the front rank have opened out or got into loose order. In confined streets this may lead to difficulty and cause confusion, and it must always prevent the full baton force striking in the first instance.
- 3rd. The rigidity and closeness of the formation, which is so advantageous for military purposes, is a serious hindrance to baton men, who require a cohesive but flexible and elastic system, such as will afford ample batoning space when in line, and facilities for quickly grouping shoulder to shoulder if pressed on all sides.

When in line, what is referred to as the "guard formation" consists of two ranks, but every right or alternate file is blank,—namely, a front rank man only, thus the rear rank are all left files.

Each right file man, together with his two men of the left file, constitute a "guard."

Each right file man acts as the leader of his guard.

For marching purposes a police party thus arranged would move in "threes" instead of fours.

To form "threes" to right or left—only the right or blank files move; the left files simply turn right or left; the rear rank do not step back.

If "threes to the right"—the right or blank files, after turning, take a side pace outwards and a pace to their rear, thus placing themselves outside their left file.

If "threes to the left"—the right or blank files, after turning, take a side pace outwards and a pace to their front, thus placing themselves outside their left file.

The advantages gained for police purposes by the "guard" or "threes" formation are :—

- 1st. Both the front shown and the first striking force are increased by one-third; thus 12 men show a front and have a first striking force of 8, which is the same as 15 men would give if in the ordinary formation of two complete ranks.
- 2nd. "Threes" can be thus formed both more rapidly and more simply, owing to the rear rank not having to step back, and the left files having only to turn, and never to move from their places; and no space is required in rear.
- 3rd. In confined and narrow streets when moving to the right or left, the supernumerary rank temporarily occupies the blank file space. In charging, the necessary elasticity or elbow room is fully secured without confusion, and if the formation gets too open, the supernumerary rank occupy some of the blank file space in the rear rank.
- 4th. In the general hand to hand encounter that must ensue if resistance is offered, each guard will keep together and act as one man; the two men of the left file, continuing to work under the direction of their right file or guard-leader, so that, happen what may, these three comrades standing shoulder to shoulder may defy any number of roughs, and whilst the two men of the left file look out to arrest the most active rascal and hold him a prisoner, their leader sees to and acts for their safety, using his baton or pistol according to circumstances. A constable is never more safe than when in the heart of a mob, if he can only be certain of two staunch comrades, as any stone throwing will be as dangerous to the mob as to the police.

SUPPLEMENT.

F 2.

A MEMORANDUM SHOWING THE LINES ON WHICH LEGISLATION MIGHT BE BASED IN ORDER TO REGULATE THE PROCEEDINGS OF BANDS OF MUSIC WHEN PLAYING IN THE PUBLIC STREETS OF ANY TOWN OR POPULOUS PLACE HAVING A POPULATION OF OVER 2,000 PERSONS, OR WITHIN THREE MILES OF THE BOUNDARY OF ANY SUCH TOWN OR PLACE.

1. Exempting from the provisions of the Statute all bands that are subject to the Army Discipline Act.
2. Defining *bona fide* street musicians, and enacting necessary regulations for their registration and their exemption from the following provisions.
3. Requiring in the case of all street music other than the above that *the musician* if only one, or *the leader* if more than one, shall lodge with the chief of police 48 hours' or other prescribed notice, in writing, of any intended playing in a street or open place. This notice to state the hour, the names and addresses of the musicians, the route and nature of the occasion.
4. The chief of police on receipt of every such notice to grant a *certificate* stating the particulars notified, and certifying that the statute has been complied with.
5. If from any sufficient cause the prescribed timely notice cannot be given, then a written application should be made to a specified magisterial or police authority, who should, if he thought fit (but not otherwise), grant the required *certificate*.
6. Every certificate to be duly registered at the office of the chief of police; and to guard against fictitious notices or applications being mischievously lodged, a shilling registration fee should be charged and credited to the police funds.
7. Any such musician or musicians, if playing on the street or in any open public place to which the Act applies, shall, on demand by any constable, produce the prescribed *certificate*; and, failing this, shall be guilty of an offence, and liable to be dealt with summarily.